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MODERN FRANCE

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MODERN FRANCE

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MODERN FRANCE

1814—1879

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Fellow of King's College, Cambridge

Author of 'Modern England'

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MODERN FRANCE.

INTRODUCTION.

FRANCE has been called the laboratory of civilisation: that is, the country where social and political experiments are tried for the benefit of other countries and other generations.

The revolution of 1789 was a violent attempt to get rid of the feudal elements still existing in the country. It succeeded in this attempt, but the weakness which supervened cast it into a condition of anarchy and bankruptcy which made it an easy prey to the ambition of a military despot.

Napoleon I. was a great ruler, in so far as he understood modern ideas, and in so far as he established both church and law on a basis which has lasted till our own time. But his design of founding a great empire, like that of Charles the Great, with France for its centre, roused the opposition of Europe, and his downfall was mainly due to the stubbornness of England.

The restoration of the Bourbons in 1814 was an attempt to revive the old monarchy with constitutional checks, and an assurance of conformity with the spirit of the age. Louis XVIII. was able to preserve the throne during his lifetime; but his successor, less wary and less adroit, allowed himself to be overthrown by the nobility, and the priests, with whom he deeply sympathised, and whose claims he did not dare to reject.

In 1830 a constitutional monarchy was established

19

under a King of the House of Orleans. The arrangement gave promise of stability, and Louis Philippe possessed some of the highest qualities of a sovereign. But he had no prestige among the people; he was unwise in his choice of ministers; his throne was shaken by unforeseen misfortunes; and he was equally ill-timed in firmness and concession.

The Republic of 1848 had within it no elements of duration. An object of indifference to the nation, it fell into the power of a conspirator whose life had been one long effort to possess himself of his uncle's crown.

After four years of dissimulation Napoleon III. became Emperor. He attempted to use with prudence and wisdom the power which he had gained by a crime. He developed the material resources of France; but the necessity of preserving his dynasty forced him to invent excitement after excitement, by which the mind of the nation was diverted from the thought of its own condition. The war of 1870 proved that the currents of national strength had been dried up at their source.

When France lay helpless at the feet of her conqueror it was found that a republic was that form of government which gave the best hope of unity. She was governed in turn by the patriot who saved her in the hour of danger, and by a soldier who recalled something of her military glory.

Courted by Legitimists, Orleanists, and Napoleonists, she has finally submitted to the guidance of a civil ruler who can neither flatter her vanity nor feed her ambition. The dream of the best spirits of the first revolution seems to be fulfilled; after ninety years the best of the principles of 1789 seem to be realised. The past forbids us to expect permanence in a country of so many changes, but all o love France will hope that she has at last reached the xpected haven of rest.

BOOK I.
LOUIS XVIII.

CHAPTER I.
THE RESTORATION.

AFTER the defeat of Napoleon by the allied sovereigns of Europe in 1814, the Count of Provence, brother of Louis XVI., who died on the scaffold, ascended the throne of France under the title of Louis XVIII. He assured the liberties of the people by a charter which set forth the principles on which the Government of the Restoration was to be established. It was a French copy of the English constitution. It secured most of the advantages which the Revolution had won: equality before the law, personal freedom, freedom of conscience, freedom of the press. Property was declared inviolable, the conscription was abolished, a political amnesty was announced. It further established a constitutional monarchy, in which the power of the King was considerable. He was invested with the command of the army, the power of declaring laws and of issuing orders for the security of the State, a practice which attained a fatal importance in 1830. A Chamber of Peers was to be nominated by the King; a Chamber of Deputies was to be chosen for five years by electors who paid 12*l.* a year in taxes; a fifth part of the Chamber was to be renewed every year. Ministers might be impeached by the Chamber, but they could only be tried by their peers. The judges were made inviolable. The Charter.

Both King and Chambers swore mutually to observe

the constitution. But before the oath was taken a great revolution was in progress. The Restoration was attended by many of the abuses of the old régime. The nobles resumed their privileges, the clergy reclaimed their power, the army was crowded with officers, the State was oppressed with pensioners. The Liberals were discontented with the Government; the palace of the Duke of Orleans was a centre of disaffection. Napoleon, Emperor of his little island Elba, had followed every phase of French politics. His step-daughter, Queen Hortense Beauharnais, represented him in Paris. He saw the weakness of the Bourbons, he feared for his own security. With four little vessels and nine hundred men he crossed the sea, and landed on the coast of Provence on March 1, 1815. He was received with enthusiasm by the French. To use his own words, 'his eagles flew from spire to spire till they lighted on the towers of Notre Dame.' Without a battle and without bloodshed he entered Paris on March 20, less than twenty-four hours after Louis XVIII. had left it.

Napoleon reconquers France.

The enterprise of Napoleon was hopeless from the first. The sovereigns of Europe assembled in congress at Vienna immediately declared for war. Before any permanent Government could be established in France, Napoleon was defeated at Waterloo. Had he possessed the determination of an earlier time, he might have held out longer against his enemies, have seized the dictatorship of France, and defended the country against the advancing foe, or at least have secured his own personal safety by escaping to America. He did none of these things. He abdicated in favour of his son, he surrendered himself to England. The English Government banished him to St. Helena. Louis XVIII. returned to his capital on July 8, after an absence of a hundred days. He was sad and dispirited, conscious that his

The hundred days.

power was based on the conquest and degradation of France, and the support of foreign bayonets.

The restored Government of Louis XVIII. rested on the foundation of the charter. It was supported by the constitutional party, who formed the great bulk of educated France. This central party contained in itself two divisions, the Independents and the Doctrinaires. Lafayette was the leader of the first section, Guizot of the second. On either side of the main body were the advocates of extreme measures. The Bonapartists and the Republicans had little hope of success after the bitter experience of past events. The Ultras, who consisted mainly of the nobles and the clergy, ignored the lessons of the Revolution, and demanded the restoration of privileges and property, the chief places in the court, the army, and the schools. The history of the Restoration is the history of the struggle between the Constitutionalists and the Ultras. The triumph of the first gave to the community security and peace; the triumph of the second threatened the country with revolution. Parties.

Louis XVIII. did his best to steer safely between these contending factions. The hope of the Ultras lay in his brother the Comte d'Artois, now 58 years of age. Brought up in the frivolity of Versailles, he had no seriousness himself and hated it in others. He respected the constitution from necessity alone. He was in close alliance with the priests. His two sons were the Duc d'Angoulême, and the Duc de Berry. The first was married to the unfortunate daughter of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, who had shared the captivity of her parents in the Temple. The second was more popular than his brother, and the succession was likely to be continued in his line. The Royal Family.

CHAPTER II.

THE RICHELIEU MINISTRY.

THE King on his accession had been obliged to make use of two ministers who had been long in the service of the dethroned Emperor. These were Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Affairs—who, after playing a prominent part in the Revolution and under Napoleon, held the reins of power till his death, the cleverest, most subtle, and least passionate of men—and Fouché, the Minister of Police, who had voted for the death of Louis XVI. They could not withstand the opposition of the Ultras, and in September were replaced by the Duc de Richelieu. In October a Chamber was elected which far surpassed the minister in its servility to the King. Louis called it the *chambre introuvable*, as he never expected to find another like it.

The *chambre introuvable.*

This inaugurated an epoch of retaliation against the Bonapartists. Seven thousand were imprisoned. No official was safe. The priests preached a religious crusade. The liberty of divorce was abolished. Marshal Ney, the bravest of the brave, was shot for having deserted to his former master. Lavalette, Post Master during the hundred days, escaped only by the devotion of his wife. The next year saw even worse excesses. Conspiracies against the exaggerated pretensions of the Royal Government broke out in Grenoble, Lyons, and Paris. At last the Ultras attacked the minister Decazes, the personal friend of the King, because he had been private secretary to the mother of Napoleon. In September 1816, the Assembly was dissolved, and the new elections gave the ministers a moderate majority of sixty votes.

The White Terror.

The new Chambers were more liberal than the old. A change in the electoral law fixed the franchise at 12*l.*

The Lower House came more and more under the influence of independents and doctrinaires. The ultra-royalists dreaded the approach of another revolution. At this time a congress of the Great Powers was held at Aix-la-Chapelle to consider the condition of Europe. Liberal movements in different countries began to alarm the sovereigns who had signed the Holy Alliance. The Duc de Richelieu attended the congress with two objects: first, to obtain the evacuation of France, by foreign troops, before the period of five years, settled in 1815; secondly, to secure the admission of France into the *Pentarchy* of Europe, the family of the five Great Powers, from which she had been excluded for her revolutionary views. In both these objects he was successful. On his return to Paris he found the tide of liberalism rising. He wished to adopt severe measures against the Left, as he had already subdued the Right. His colleagues did not agree with him; the country did not support him. At the end of 1818, he resigned his office, and was succeeded by a ministry of which the most prominent member was Decazes.

Fall of the ministry.

CHAPTER III.

THE DECAZES MINISTRY.

GENERAL DESOLLES was Prime Minister. He began to govern on liberal principles. The Upper Chamber, which was ultra-royalist in feeling, was modified by the creation of 65 new peers of a different type. The freedom of the press was secured, and the reaction from the tyranny of Napoleon called into life the *Journal des Débats*, the *Constitutionnel*, and the brilliant but shortlived *Minerva*. Reactionary prefects were

Change of ministry.

dismissed, political exiles recalled, among whom even some regicides were included. The elections of 1819 resulted in the choice of a majority of independents. Among the newly elected members was the Abbé Grégoire, once Bishop of Blois. As a member of the Convention, he had been absent from the King's condemnation, but had afterwards justified his execution in strong language. The royalists, under the Comte d'Artois, clamoured for the change of an electoral law which could lead to such results. Desolles refused to alter it, and resigned his office. Decazes became Prime Minister, and shortly afterwards the admission of Grégoire to sit in the Chambers was unanimously refused.

On February 13, 1820, the Duc de Berry was stabbed at the door of the Opera House in Paris, by Louvel, a saddler's apprentice. The assassin declared that he regarded the Bourbons as the worst enemies of France. For years he had sought the opportunity, which he had at last found, of killing their youngest and brightest hope. This event stirred the extremes of both parties. The Ultras hoped that the King would at last see the danger of temporising with the liberals, the radicals rejoiced at the approaching extinction of the hated dynasty. To wise and moderate men it was a severe blow. Decazes attempted to conciliate both parties. He proposed to alter the electoral law, by giving more power to the landed interest, to establish the right of imprisonment without trial, to restrict the freedom of the press. But he was suspected as a Bonapartist, and denounced as an accomplice of Louvel's. At the earnest entreaty of the Duc d'Artois, and the Duc d'Angoulême, he was reluctantly dismissed by the King. The Duc de Richelieu took his place.

Murder of the Duc de Berry.

The first act of the Duc de Richelieu was to pass the laws which had been proposed by Decazes. The Comte

d'Artois promised him his firm support. On September 29, the widow of the Duc de Berry bore a son, who received the title of the Duc de Bordeaux. He was hailed as the child of heaven, the miraculous continuation of the Bourbon race. The royalistcause was in the ascendant. The Ultras obtained a preponderance in the Chamber; the differences between the two parties became extreme. This feeling was intensified on both sides by the successful efforts of Austria to crush the revolution in Italy, and by the death of the Great Napoleon in May 1821. The Bourbons rejoiced that their enemy was at last out of their way, but the reverence for the martyr hero which arose from his tomb shook, at a later period, the foundations of their power. The Comte d'Artois, forgetful of his pledges, urged the King to stronger measures, who was too weak to resist. The Duc de Richelieu was obliged to resign his office, and died shortly afterwards of a broken heart. His successor Villèle was the acknowledged leader of the extreme royalists. The friends of freedom prepared to resist the coming storm. Among other bodies of conspirators, those of the Carbonari, or Charcoal-burners, and of the Knights of Liberty, were conspicuous. Their combined operations were directed by a central committee. The first, under Lafayette, prepared to seize the fortress of Belfort in the last days of 1821. The second arranged a rising in Saumur. Both these attempts were discovered and failed. General Berton, the author of the second, was executed with his accomplices. The leaders of the whole design, among whom the chief was Lafayette, could not be convicted from want of evidence, and escaped with impunity.

Th Duc de Richelieu's second ministry.

Villèle.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SPANISH WAR.

SINCE the fall of Napoleon, the south of Europe had been in a state of continual disorder. The allied sovereigns, with Metternich as their minister, dreaded the return of the revolution. The people demanded the liberty of constitutional government, and complained that in getting rid of Napoleon, they had only exchanged one tyranny for another. The congress of Laibach had determined upon the reduction of Italy, and it had been there agreed to hold another congress at Verona in 1822. The ground of their assembly was the threatened war between Russia and Turkey. It was known, however, that the main subject of discussion would be the affairs of Spain. A liberal constitution had been proclaimed in Spain in 1812. This was at first accepted by King Ferdinand VII. at his restoration. But shortly afterwards he abrogated it by a *coup d'état*, and restored the old Cortes and the abuses of clerical government.

The Congress of Verona.

During the five years between 1814 and 1819, constant outbreaks occurred. One, more serious than the rest, under Riego at Cadiz, on New Year's Day 1820, threatened the safety of the throne. Ferdinand, much against his will, accepted the constitution of 1812. The Jesuits were banished from the country, the Inquisition was abolished. About a year later, a civil war broke out for the restoration of the old government. A fanatical monk, by name Merino, formed a so-called 'army of faith,' which was joined by many of the French Ultras as volunteers. This army was defeated by General Mina in September 1822, and at the same time the King issued a proclamation in favour of the constitution, denouncing its

Troubles in Spain.

enemies as traitors. In answer to this the rebels established a government in Catalonia, in the name of their imprisoned King; and the French, under pretext of the yellow fever, which was raging in Spain, established a sanitary cordon along the line of the Pyrenees, which gave material assistance to the insurgents.

Hitherto France had abstained from direct intervention. By the side of England she had refused to sanction the principle of interference at Troppau, or to put it into effect at Laibach. She now had strength enough to resist the example of the three Northern Powers. In January 1823, the King declared from the throne that all hope of peace was at an end, and that an army of 100,000 men was massed on the Spanish frontier, under the command of a French prince, ready to support the cause of a descendant of Henry IV. Intervention.

By the new elections, the Chambers had become more royalist than ever. A deputy, Manuel by name, who alluded in his speech to the death of Louis XVI., was excluded from the House, and on his resistance, was carried out by main force. In April, the French army, commanded by the Duc d'Angoulême, who was supported by Napoleon's generals, crossed the Bidassoa. Spain was quickly overrun. Madrid was entered in six weeks. The constitutional Government, bearing the King with them, retired first to Seville, and then to Cadiz. Each of these places fell in turn. The taking of the Trocadero, an island in front of Cadiz, was one of the most brilliant actions of the war. At the end of September, the King was restored by the Cortes. On entering the French camp he proclaimed a genera amnesty, which he afterwards shamelessly violated. Barcelona, the last refuge of the constitutionalists, fell. Its brave defender, General Mina, fled to England. By the end of the year, Ferdinand VII. was established in War.

Madrid. The monstrous cruelties which followed his restoration belong rather to the history of Spain than to that of France.

The war had cost the French 4,000 men and 200 millions of francs. Its chief advantage was that it contented the army, and attached it to the dynasty. It in some measure repaired in their eyes the disasters and defeats of the last three years of Napoleon's rule. The internal situation of France became worse and worse. Louis XVIII., racked with the pains of gout, sank more and more into the hands of his brother and his niece. Education was committed to ignorant monks. The voices of Guizot and Royer Collard were silenced in their professional chairs. Schoolbooks written to order mentioned Napoleon only as the successful general of the army of Louis XVIII. The press was free only in name. The observance of saints' days was enforced, but they were not allowed to be spent in amusement. Frenchmen, when not working to pay their taxes, were commanded to strict obedience, self-denial, and prayer.

Results.

CHAPTER V.

THE LAST DAYS OF LOUIS XVIII.

THE elections of 1824 gave a still more decided majority to the ultra-royalists. Out of a Chamber of 430 members, the liberals could only number 13 representatives, and the moderates only four. This absence of counterpoise proved eventually as disastrous to the triumphant majority as it now appeared to be advantageous. Villèle used his power to propose two reactionary measures. By the first the Lower House was to be elected for a period of seven years instead of five,

Reaction.

and the article of the charter which provided that a fifth of it should be renewed every year was abrogated. By the second the interest of the national debt was to be reduced from five per cent. to four per cent., a measure framed for the advantage of the royalists who had returned from exile. The second measure was rejected by the House of Peers. The first was carried. Châteaubriand, the eloquent champion of Church and State, was dismissed with indignity from office. The Congregation, a Church association under the inspiration of the Jesuits, became more and more predominant in the State. Journals were bought to preach the doctrines of absolutism; the censure of the press was re-established.

It was becoming evident that the King could not live much longer. The priest party made the best use of their time. Bishop de Frayssinous, an ignorant bigot who had been previously appointed Grand Master of the University, was now raised to the newly-created post of Minister of Worship (Ministre des Cultes). Great pains were taken that the King should seem to die in the odour of sanctity. His illness had been carefully concealed. But on September 13 a bulletin in the *Moniteur* left no doubt as to his condition, and four days later he expired. His death created little sorrow, as he was not of a nature to be loved. He was not without ability and culture, but his character, naturally frivolous, had been weakened by his early education and by the vicissitudes of his life. He had more knowledge of the world and a deeper sense of statesmanship than his brother. He reminded him before his death that it was his duty to preserve his crown for his children and his children's children. He was buried with all the feudal trappings of the old *régime*. The precedents of musty records were accurately followed. Herald and kings-at-arms stood around. The banner of France was cast into the grave by Talleyrand.

Louis XVIII. dies.

BOOK II.

CHARLES X.

CHAPTER I.

THE THREE LAST YEARS OF VILLÈLE.

CHARLES X. began his reign by exciting hopes of a new policy. A general amnesty for political offenders and the abolition of the censorship of the press occasioned an outburst of popularity. Public opinion was soon undeceived. Convents were re-established, a step towards the restoration of monasteries. A new law against sacrilege punished the breaking into a church with death, and the desecration of the Host as a parricide. The *emigrés* who had left France at the Revolution were compensated for the loss of their estates by the vote of a milliard of francs; the elderly Duke and Duchess of Angoulême were decked with the youthful titles of Dauphin and Dauphine. Charles X. was crowned at Rheims with all the circumstance of the mediæval monarchy. He was anointed with the holy oil; he touched for the king's evil.

The new reign.

The new reign was accompanied by the predominance of the power of the Congregation, a religious body of which Charles X. had long been president. Religious missions, church processions and festivals, filled the city with a long unwonted mummery. The rites of baptism, marriage, and confession, were strictly enforced. Non-communicants were excluded from the churches; none but the friends of the Church had any ce of preferment in the State. The Jesuits had been

The reign of priests.

forbidden by law to reside in France; but it was commonly believed that the King was himself a Jesuit. The Government was ridiculed as a *régime* of Capuchin monks. The storm reached its height when the year 1826 was proclaimed as a year of jubilee, an occasion for new extravagances, and when Bishop Thorin, the most extreme of the ultramontanes, was appointed preceptor to the young Duc de Bordeaux.

After an attempt to restore in a very modified form the right of primogeniture in the case of large estates, the priest party struck a severe blow at their antagonists. They introduced a bill proposing such close restrictions on the publication of literature of all kinds, periodical and other, that if carried it would have annihilated journalism, and almost have prevented the production of books. Educated men of all parties protested against it. Châteaubriand and Béranger found themselves for once on the same side, and the Academy laid aside its submissive loyalty to address a remonstrance to the Crown. The law passed the servile Chamber of Deputies by a majority of two-thirds; but the Peers were strongly opposed to it, and the ministry withdrew it in order to avoid a defeat.

Freedom of the press.

Another fatal error was the dissolution of the National Guard in consequence of their outcries against the minister at a review in the Champ de Mars. This offended the citizens of Paris and deprived the city of a bulwark of conservatism. No sooner had the Chambers dispersed than the King announced the creation of a number of new peers, and a fresh election of the Lower House. Every effort had been made by long and severe preparation to secure a ministerial triumph. The friends of liberty united their camps in opposition. A constitutional society named *Aide-toi, et le ciel t'aidera*, took the lead in the movement. Paris returned a clean

Fall of the ministry.

list of opposition members. The provinces followed her example. At the close of the year Villèle resigned his office; and on January 5, 1828, the *Moniteur* announced the names of the new ministry.

CHAPTER II.

THE MARTIGNAC MINISTRY.

THE new ministry had no actual head, but the leading spirit in it was the Vicomte de Martignac, a wise, sensible man of business. Laferronays, an aristocrat returned from exile, a man of high character, was Minister of Foreign Affairs. Portalis, who had dared to withstand the rule of Napoleon, was Minister of Justice. The new ministry could scarcely expect a long duration of office. Villèle had made the nation thoroughly weary of the restored monarchy, and the Chambers were not disposed to support half measures. Some steps were taken in the direction of liberalism. The Bureau Noir, established by Louis XIV. for the examination of suspected correspondence, was abolished; above all, the priests were excluded from the conduct of education.

Martignac.

By the Treaty of London of July 6, 1827, the Governments of England, France, and Russia agreed to send a combined fleet into the Greek waters to put a stop to further bloodshed between the Greeks and the Turks. The result of this was that on October 20 the battle of Navarino was fought, in which the Turkish fleet was entirely destroyed. The next year the powers arranged for an occupation of the Morea by the French in order to secure the withdrawal of the Turkish troops. The English Government, fearing the extension of French

General Maison.

power in the East, made arrangements with the Pasha of Egypt by which this withdrawal should be effected. Before the news of this Convention reached France, General Maison was already on his way. An attempt was made to prevent his landing; but he persisted in his purpose, secured the evacuation of the Morea, and returned home with great credit.

The King did not long put up with a ministry so distasteful to him. Every concession had been wrung from him unwillingly, and the law against the Jesuits had deeply wounded him. During a journey through Alsace he interpreted the acclamations of the people, occasioned by the liberal reforms and the success in Greece, as signs of devotion to his person. The Duchesse de Berry had better reason to believe that the troop of horsemen who escorted her on her progress through La Vendée were ready to perish, if necessary, in defence of the altar and the throne. The ministers brought forward a measure for the reform of municipal government which, for different reasons, was distasteful both to the royalists and the liberals. They united their forces, and the ministers suffered an unexpected defeat. Charles seized the opportunity of dismissing them, and put in the place of Martignac a man after his own heart.

Change of ministry.

CHAPTER III.

PRINCE POLIGNAC.

PRINCE POLIGNAC was at this time ambassador in London. He was a thorough representative of the *ancien régime*, an uncompromising supporter of extreme royalist opinions. His mother had been the devoted friend of Marie Antoinette. It was

The Polignac ministry.

reported that Charles X. was his father. He had been implicated in the conspiracy of Georges Cadoudal in 1804, and had only sworn allegiance to the Charter with the reservation of his duty to religion. He had no capacity as a statesman; he could overthrow a monarchy, but could not save one. He received the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. Bourmont, the most unpopular man in France, who had deserted to the enemy the day before Waterloo, was made Minister of War. There was no doubt that the purpose of the ministry was to confirm the absolute power of the King. Both sides prepared for action. Lafayette was received in the south of France with royal honours; associations were formed for the refusal of taxes. The battle cry on either side was 'No more concessions.' With this melancholy prospect the year 1829 closed.

The Address.

At the opening of the Chambers the King delivered a threatening speech. When he took off his hat at the close of it, it fell from his hand, and was picked up by the Duke of Orleans, an ominous occurrence. The President and Vice-President of the Chamber were chosen from the opposition. The address to the throne was couched in no ambiguous language. It was supported by Guizot, who, having gained a brilliant reputation as a lecturer on history, was just entering upon his parliamentary career. The address was received coldly by the King, and the Assembly was prorogued with a view to its dissolution. The society *Aide-toi, et le ciel t'aidera* worked hard in preparation for the new elections. Liberal journalism received a powerful ally in the person of Thiers.

Algiers.

Attention was for a time diverted from internal dissensions by a war in Algiers. A dispute between the Bey and the French Government, which began in 1819 about a debt, culminated in 1827 by

the Bey striking the French consul on the face with his fly-flapper. The Algerian ports were blockaded; the Bey refused to submit, and fired on the French flag. After much debate in the Cabinet a military expedition was reluctantly decided upon. The English Government was strongly opposed to French interference in Africa, and threatened to make it a *casus belli*. The expedition, after a long delay at sea, landed, on June 14, 1830, on the peninsula of Sidi Ferruk. In the course of three weeks the town of Algiers was surrendered to the French. They found forty-eight millions of francs in the treasury: more than enough to pay the expenses of the war.

This brilliant success roused the hopes of the royalist party, and disheartened the constitutional liberals. The moment was chosen for dissolving the Chambers, and both parties strained their utmost to obtain a victory in the new elections. The result was a complete victory for the liberals. The whole of the 221 members who had voted for the address in the previous session were re-elected, while many of the ministerial minority were rejected. The ministers for one moment entertained the idea of resigning. They then determined to fall back upon the 19th article of the Charter, which allowed the King, as head of the State, to issue orders and regulations for the public security. Their measures were taken with the utmost secrecy. They believed that they could depend upon a majority of the nation; the opposition they thought consisted of a turbulent few. The army of 230,000 disposable men was reckoned as on their side. They determined upon a *coup d'état*. The courts of Europe were in anxious expectation; warnings were addressed to the King from every side. The secret, however, was well kept, and was revealed to no one outside the Government except the papal nuncio.

Coup d'état.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REVOLUTION OF JULY.

ON Monday, July 26, five ordinances signed by the King and his ministers appeared in the *Moniteur*. The first abolished the freedom of the press. The second dissolved the Chambers. The third altered the electoral law in such a way that the franchise was confined to a richer class; the duration of the Chambers was lowered from seven years to five. The practice of renewing the Chamber by a fifth part every year was restored, and the powers of the Chambers were limited. The fourth ordinance summoned the Chambers to meet in the following September; and the fifth nominated a number of ultra-royalists and members of the priest party members of the Council of State. The ordinances had been signed the day before at St. Cloud with a full knowledge of their importance. The King had said to his ministers, 'Gentlemen, you can reckon upon me as I can reckon upon you; it is now a question of life and death between us.'

The Ordinances.

As the *Moniteur* had a small sale, the ordinances were not generally known in Paris till the afternoon. The journalists were the first to declare themselves. A meeting of writers for newspapers was held at the office of the *National*, and Thiers drew up their protest. It announced that the law had been broken, and that the reign of violence had begun. The press had been first attacked, it was its duty to set an example of resistance. The protest was signed by 44 representatives of 11 journals. Paris remained quiet, but the Funds fell. The party of revolution was not yet prepared for active measures.

Resistance.

The next morning the streets were filled with an ex-

cited crowd. Printers thrown out of work by the new law wandered about to excite compassion. The protest of the journalists was printed in the *National* and the *Temps*. The offices of these papers were attacked, and the presses rendered unserviceable, but they were soon repaired. The defence of the city was committed to Marmont, most unpopular on account of his treachery to Napoleon. A few stones were thrown at the soldiers, and a few shots were fired. Barricades were raised in the streets, but weakly defended. The members of the liberal party met, as they had done twice before, at the house of Casimir Périer, but they could not come to a resolution. In the evening Marmont was ordered to send his troops to barracks; the danger of a revolution seemed still distant. July 2

The night of the 27th was employed by the Carbonari to rouse the citizens to arms. At daybreak on the 28th, the streets were blocked by barricades thronged by armed crowds, who had assembled at the sound of the tocsin. The royal arms were pulled down from the shops and the public buildings. Marmont announced to the King that a revolution had broken out. The King replied by proclaiming a state of siege, and ordering the capture of the ringleaders of sedition. Events were moving too rapidly to be checked. A deputation of liberals, headed by Lafayette, urged Marmont to no purpose to represent to the King that the only means of peace lay in the revocation of the ordinances, and the dismissal of the ministers. Polignac refused even to see the deputation. The King regarded their request as a proof of weakness, and scorned concession. July 28.

In the meantime the forces of Marmont, which were massed in the neighbourhood of the Tuileries, had been sent to occupy the most important parts and to destroy the barricades. They had met with July 29.

little success. On the morning of the 29th, Marmont found himself surrounded on all sides by the insurgents. He could not advance, the Champs Elysées were alone open for his retreat. The troops were hungry and tired. Their steadiness began to waver. No member of the royal family showed himself; the royalist party were nowhere to be seen. Two regiments posted in the Place Vendôme went over to the insurgents. By a mistaken retreat of the Paris Guard, the people obtained possession of the Louvre. They fired from the windows upon the troops, who retreated in disorder. The palace of the Tuileries was stormed by the crowd. The liberal deputies now took heart. They placed Lafayette at the head of the National Guard, and appointed a provisional government. The King refused to give way. 'Concessions,' he said, 'had brought his brother to the scaffold.' It was not till Marmont, baffled and weary, appeared in person at St. Cloud, that the King consented to a change of ministry, and the Duc de Montemart was appointed President of the Council. It was too late. The news was coldly received by the provisional government, and by the deputies, by Lafayette, and by Lafitte. It was felt that the revolution must take its course, and that the only solution was in a change of dynasty.

On Friday, July 30, the name of the Duke of Orleans, as possible ruler of France, was publicly mentioned for the first time. Thousands of printed slips bearing no signature, but written by Thiers and Mignet, and issuing from the press of the *National*, were scattered broadcast among the people. The Duke of Orleans, they said, was a friend of the revolutionary cause; he had never fought against France; he alone could wear the tricolour as king. His name was also supported by the deputies who met at the house of the banker Lafitte. The morning of the 30th decided the

July 30.

struggle between the elder and the younger branch. The Duc de Montemart broke into the King's bedchamber and extorted from him the revocation of the ordinances, the re-establishment of the National Guard, and the announcement of the new ministry. Charged with decrees to this effect, he set off on foot for Paris; but, wandering along byroads, and stopped by soldiers under the orders of the Duc d'Angoulême, he arrived at Paris exhausted and travel-stained, in no fit guise to represent the King. In the meantime Thiers and Ary Scheffer had set out for Neuilly, the country house of the Duke of Orleans, to invite him to Paris. They found him absent. His wife opposed his accepting the invitation, but his sister Adelaide was in favour of it. Later in the day a deputation offered him the post of General Lieutenant of the kingdom. Towards midnight he came secretly to Paris. He sent for the Duc de Montemart and told him that he had yielded so far only in obedience to irresistible pressure, and that if the crown were offered to him, he would never consent to accept it.

The next morning the Duke of Orleans issued a proclamation as General Lieutenant of the kingdom. He announced as his object the avoidance of anarchy and civil war, the triumph of the tricolour and the Charter. His power at this time rested on the support of Lafitte and the liberal deputies. But the main authority in Paris lay in the provisional government at the Hôtel de Ville, the head of which was Lafayette. They made no mention of the Duke of Orleans, and seemed to aim at the establishment of a republic. The Duke rode to the Hôtel de Ville. As he passed through the threatening crowd many feared for his life. He was met at the entrance by Lafayette. The supreme moment of decision had arrived. A proclamation of the deputies was read, promising popular government and liberal

July 31.

reforms. The Duke's bearing was high, and his speech assuring. As he passed to the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville on the arm of Lafayette, with the tricolour flag in his hand, a shout of unanimous joy was raised, and his position was secured. France, it was said, required a popular throne surrounded by republican institutions. On the same eventful day, the royal family, frightened by the approach of soldiers at St. Cloud, removed first to the Trianon and then to Rambouillet. They did not yet believe that all was lost.

Thus ended what is rightly called the Great Week. The King at first recognised the Duke of Orleans as General Lieutenant of the kingdom. The Duke replied that he owed his place not to royal favour, but to the choice of the people. The King then abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Duc de Bordeaux, passing over his son the Duc d'Angoulême, who was very unpopular. The Duke of Orleans was ordered to proclaim Henry V., but he took no notice of the order. The King's residence at Rambouillet seemed to endanger peace, but he refused to leave. A motley army of 20,000 Parisians, some on foot, some in carriages, marched upon the château. The King determined to fight, and only gave way upon the assurance that the attacking force was 60,000 strong. His first plan was to defend himself behind the Loire. He came reluctantly to the conclusion that the royal cause was lost. He travelled to Cherbourg through an ill-disposed and stormy populace, and sailed in an American ship to England, where he was received as a private gentleman. He died in Austria in 1836. The Duc d'Angoulême survived him by eight years; his wife, the unhappy daughter of Louis XVI., lived till 1851.

End of Charles X.

The Government of the Restoration did much for the
'al prosperity of France, a country which always

recovers marvellously from a fall, and derives strength from calamity and disaster. Industry and commerce revived after the great war. France, which in 1815 lay conquered at the feet of Europe, recovered her position among the nations. In the latter years of Charles X. she joined her interests with those of Russia, and an arrangement between Polignac and Pozzo di Borgo, by which Russia was to extend herself to the south and France to the east, was stopped only by the Revolution of July. Literature, crushed by Napoleon, began to bloom again. The Restoration witnessed the maturity of Le Maistre, Châteaubriand and Lamennais, the youthful triumphs of Guizot, Villemain, and Cousin, the beginnings of Thiers and Mignet, and the rise of the Romantic school. But its duration was conditioned by circumstances which did not affect France alone. Produced by reaction against the revolution, it fell as soon as the forces of progress were able once more to assert themselves. It had, both in its rise and fall, a counterpart in the history of the rest of Europe. Reflections.

BOOK III.

LOUIS PHILIPPE.

CHAPTER I.

LAFITTE.

LOUIS PHILIPPE, Duke of Orleans, was born in the year 1773. He was the son of Philippe Égalité, who perished on the scaffold, and was descended from the younger brother of Louis XIV. The House of Orleans had always been in opposition to the House of The Duke of Orleans

Bourbon, of which it was a branch. Louis Philippe had good abilities and a remarkable memory. He adopted the principles of 1789, was present at the taking of the Bastille, and was a member of the Jacobin Club. He fought for the Republic at Jemappes, but after the King's execution left the army, and became usher in a school in Switzerland. He spent three years in America and some time in England. In the wars of Napoleon, he did not serve against his country, because he could not obtain employment. On his return to France he lived a quiet domestic existence, remarkable for his talents and his virtues, for his affability and freedom from pride, and for the care with which he managed his patrimony. He was admirably suited for the part of citizen-king.

The new King.

Louis Philippe, by accepting the post of deputy to Charles X., had deprived himself of the rights of hereditary succession. It was a question on what basis his title to the throne should rest. The Lower House declared the throne vacant, made some alterations in the Charter in a liberal direction, and proclaimed the Duke of Orleans King of the French. The Peers gave their consent; Châteaubriand alone protested. The new King was surrounded with difficulties. Supported by the constitutional liberals, he had against him the Legitimists, the Bonapartists, and the Republicans. The two first were not formidable, the third was dangerous. Three of its members held important posts in the Government: Odilon Barrot was Prefect of the Seine; Dupont de l'Eure was Minister of Justice; Lafayette was Commander of the National Guard. Concord did not last long: the people demanded the death of the ministers who had signed the ordinances; they were especially bitter against the Prince de Polignac. The ministers counselled moderation. Lafayette was of the same opinion. The citizens marched to Vincennes, and threat-

ened to repeat the massacres of September 1792. Odilon Barrot condemned the conduct of his colleagues. He was too powerful to be punished, and five of the ministers mainly belonging to the doctrinaire party resigned. Lafitte, a rich banker, undertook to form a new Cabinet.

In December 1830, the ex-ministers of Charles X. were brought to a formal trial before the Chamber of Peers. Both prisoners and judges were threatened by the mob. The sentence was imprisonment for life, and to Polignac the loss of civil rights. For a day and a night Paris was in a state of siege. A new revolution seemed ready to break out. Lafayette, who now commanded the whole National Guard of France, was the chief instrument of order. When quiet was restored, the post he occupied was abolished. Angry and offended, he joined the opposition, and was followed by Dupont de l'Eure, and Trielhard, the Prefect of Police. The split between the throne and the republican party became evident. Lafitte.

The revolution in Paris had been the signal for revolution throughout Europe. In Spain, Belgium, Italy, Germany, the reaction against oppression had broken out with violence. In England the movement towards the reform of Parliament received a great encouragement. There was some doubt as to how the new Government of France would be received by its neighbours; they all cordially recognised it except Russia and Spain. France on her part determined not to interfere in the affairs of other nations. Revolution in Europe.

Of all these revolutionary movements, the one which most nearly concerned France was the revolution in Belgium. The Congress of Vienna had in this case as in many others joined together countries whom God had put asunder. Holland and Belgium differed from each other in race, in language, in Belgium.

religion. Although two thirds of the population belonged to Belgium, the chief place in the Government was occupied by Holland. The Dutch King, William, took up a position like that of Charles X. His minister Van Maanen was the counterpart of Polignac. The revolution of July lighted the flame of revolution in Brussels: the last days of August witnessed a general uprising throughout the Belgian provinces. Within a month the Dutch troops were defeated, and the independence of the country secured. At an early period of the movement it had been proposed to annex Belgium to France, on the condition of an armed intervention on the side of liberty. This had been rejected by Louis Philippe, and it became necessary for the Belgians to choose a king.

The French Government took part with the other great Powers of Europe in the Conference which established the boundaries and regulated the constitution of the kingdom of Belgium. Louis Philippe refused the crown of Belgium for his son the Duc de Nemours, but he had some difficulty in justifying his magnanimity to the nation. Some steps were taken in internal politics towards a fuller liberalism: the National Guard was reorganised, the franchise was slightly reduced. But before a Chamber of Deputies could be elected on the new basis the ministers had been changed. A revolution broke out in Italy which excited the warmest sympathy in France. She was not prepared to assist, but was ready to give the Italians a fair chance for freedom, and to prevent the intervention of any other nation. Austria announced her intention of crushing the Italian revolution with all the force at her command. The French Government declared that they would not permit it; and Lafitte, seeing his fundamental principle of non-intention isolated, resigned his office.

Lafitte resigns.

The successor of Lafitte, Casimir Périer, was a

banker like himself, but of stern, despotic character. He was rather an enemy of the aristocracy than a friend to the revolution. He accepted the policy of non-intervention left him by his predecessor, and suppressed all material expressions of sympathy for Poland and Italy with strength and determination. The same rigour was needed for the preservation of peace at home. In the middle of February, the republicans, excited by a service held in commemoration of the Duc de Berry, which was really a royalist demonstration, attacked the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, and sacked the palace of the Archbishop. The cross was thrown down from the summit of Notre-Dame; a general war was carried on against crosses and fleurs-de-lis, which were considered the emblems of bigotry and tyranny. Louis Philippe went so far as to erase the lilies of France from his shield. Périer steadily opposed the revolutionary spirit. He forbade meetings in the streets which exceeded a certain number of persons. A tumultuous crowd in the Place Vendôme was bloodlessly dispersed by fire-engines. Civil servants were forbidden to belong to political associations. Casimir Périer.

The year 1831 witnessed a new election of the Chambers, with a decided majority for the ministers. They obtained some credit by forcing the mouth of the Tagus in order to revenge an insult, and by marching to Brussels to support the throne of Leopold of Coburg who had been elected King. The Dutch army, which had crossed the Belgian frontier, retired at the approach of the French. The glory thus gained was nearly lost by the collapse of the Polish insurrection, and the triumph of the Russians. 'Order,' they were told, 'reigned at Warsaw.' The French were ashamed that they had struck no blow for liberty; and Thiers in vain argued that the restoration of the Polish kingdom was Foreign affairs.

impossible and undesirable. The occupation of Ancona in the following January did something to appease the ardour of the French. There was at least one nation in Europe inspired with a disinterested love of liberty, and prepared, if necessary, to sacrifice its own interests to an idea.

The year 1831 was marked by disorders of a revolutionary character in different parts of France. The most serious of these was at Lyons, and the principal cause was the question of wages, since a fruitful source of strikes, but which then began to excite attention for the first time. Lyons was reduced to order by an armed force, commanded by Soult and the Duke of Orleans. In February 1832, an *émeute* broke out in Paris in favour of Henry V. It was quickly and easily extinguished, but it disclosed the existence of a widespread royalist conspiracy, not unknown to foreign courts. The Duchesse de Berry, tired of her exile, left Holyrood Palace for Genoa, to rouse the sympathies of European courts in favour of her son.

The Duchesse de Berry.

Disturbances were already rife in Brittany and Vendée, a province which had been steadily devoted to the royalist cause. At the end of April 1832, the Duchess landed near Marseilles. An attack upon the town miserably failed. She then went to Vendée, where, in spite of the warnings of the heads of the Legitimist party, of the eloquence of Béranger, and of her own promises, she raised the standard of revolt. A few skirmishes sufficed to put an end to the rebellion, and the Duchesse wandered a fugitive from cottage to cottage, till she was at last taken prisoner by treachery.

A more serious republican outbreak took place in Paris on June 5. On that day was celebrated the funeral of General Lamarque, a well known leader of the advanced opposition. The streets were ıged with people : half Paris swelled the procession.

The days of June.

The pupils of the Polytechnic school broke out to join the mob, and the funeral march made way for the *Marseillaise.* The burial had been first arranged at Père la Chaise, but the mob shouted, 'To the Pantheon.' The soldiers barred the way and a combat took place. The King hastened from St. Cloud to the Tuileries, to preserve order by his calmness. The insurrection was hopeless from the first. The Hôtel de Ville, the usual centre of revolutionary authority, had not been occupied. There was no provisional government. The people could not triumph while the army supported the crown. On June 6 a state of siege was proclaimed, but it was speedily annulled as contrary to the Charter. The King rode through the streets at great personal risk. In the afternoon the last barricades were destroyed by cannon and their defenders taken prisoners. The throne of Louis Philippe was strengthened by this ill-judged outbreak.

The year 1832 is one of disaster in French annals. Besides the horrors of civil war the capital was ravaged by a new and terrible plague. The cholera had long been expected. Having its origin in Asia, it had devastated Russia and Poland, and had attacked England, leaving France alone. The first death was on March 26. On March 29, the festival of mid-Lent, a masked ball was held at the Opera House. Among the masks some represented the cholera itself. Suddenly at midnight one dancer after the other fell to the ground with shrieks. The ball was broken up. Fifty victims were carried to the hospital, many of whom a few hours afterwards were buried in their masquerade clothes. More than 12,000 persons died in Paris in the month of April. The plague continued for more than half a year. It displayed new violence in the month of June. More than 1,200,000 people died in France. Among the victims was Casimir Périer, who

The Cholera.

died on May 16. His magnificent funeral expressed both respect for his memory and relief at his removal. The Government continued for some time without an acknowleged head, until it was reorganised under the presidency of Marshal Soult.

CHAPTER II.

JUSTE MILIEU.

THE ministry of October 11 contained some men of brilliant talents. Soult was Minister of War and President of the Council; Guizot had charge of Education, Broglie of Foreign, Thiers of Home Affairs. The doctrinaires were thus admitted to office. The King described the intended policy of the new Government as the *juste milieu*, an exposition which was seized upon by the opposition as a brand of scorn and contempt. Under this ministry the Government of July gained some prestige, although it never struck the heart or imagination of the country. The newly elected King of the Belgians married a French princess. The citadel of Antwerp was taken by French troops from the Dutch. The Duchesse de Berry, who had been imprisoned in the castle of Blaye, ruined the cause of the Legitimists by giving birth to a daughter, the fruit of a secret marriage in Italy. An attempt was made on the King's life on his way to the Chambers, the first of a series of similar outrages.

Marshal Soult.

The Chambers were not very active. The most important measure of the year 1833 was the law on education proposed by Guizot. The education of the people had been miserably neglected; many communes were entirely without schools; the educa-

lation.

tion of girls was not thought of. By the new law every commune was bound to maintain a school, with a properly paid schoolmaster. All teachers were to receive a certificate of efficiency. This measure did much, but it yet remained to make the education of France compulsory and gratuitous. The question of defending Paris by detached forts was seriously discussed. The Republicans declared that the object of the Government was to enslave Paris, not to preserve it, and the matter was adjourned: yet these forts did much to save France from destruction in 1870.

Repression.

True to its principle of the golden mean, the ministry strove to check the expression of extreme opinions on either side. The *Tribune*, a Republican organ, was condemned to pay a fine of 10,000 francs, which was largely contributed by Legitimists. Châteaubriand was accused of having ended a pamphlet by these words addressed to the Duchess of Berry, 'Madame, your son is my King.' He was acquitted by a jury. A process was directed against the Society of the Rights of Man, who held as the chief article of their creed that every person had a claim upon the State for maintenance. It was an important society, and had branches in every part of France. It was found impossible to dissolve it by law until a special act was passed in 1834 rendering it illegal. This was due to the eloquence of Thiers. A similar attempt to prevent the hawking of liberal journals about the streets failed until a new law gave authority to the police.

Eastern affairs.

France had now to act with England in settling the affairs of the East. Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, had assisted Turkey in the disastrous war which ended in the peace of Adrianople. He demanded from Sultan Mahmoud II. the pashalic of Damascus as the price of his services. When this was refused, he

took advantage of the confused state of Europe to march an army into Syria. Gaza, Jaffa, and Jerusalem fell; Acre and Damascus were taken. At last, on Dec. 20, 1832, the Sultan's troops were defeated at Konieh, the ancient Iconium. The Pasha had now a powerful army of 100,000 men. The Sultan could turn to no one except his ancient ally the Czar. A Russian fleet entered the Bosphorus, and a Russian army approached Constantinople. England and France became alarmed. In their anxiety for the independence of Belgium they were forgetting their traditional policy in the East. A friendship was patched up between lord and vassal, and, by the Treaty of Kutajah (May 4, 1833), Mehemet Ali received, as the price of peace, the whole of Syria and a portion of Asia Minor. The Russians, on their side, demanded a reward for their services. A treaty signed at Unkiar Skelessi, on July 8, 1833, made a defensive alliance for eight years between Russia and Turkey, and closed the Dardanelles to foreign ships of war.

The laws against association were not quietly received. Lyons, the manufacturing centre of France, had long been infected with Republican aspirations. In April the storm broke. The people were badly armed. The garrison was numerous, and the fortifications had been skilfully prepared to crush a rising. There was no sympathy between the soldiers and the people; the troops fired on every one who appeared in the streets. The struggle lasted for five days, and the soldiers very nearly resolved to desert the town. The churches were the strong places of the insurgents, and had to be taken at the point of the bayonet. On April 13 the city was reduced to order after a terrible slaughter. The Republicans of Paris would not desert their friends, although the cause was hopeless, and the rising was discouraged by the heads of the party. Four thousand men were contending against forty

Disturbances.

thousand: the issue could not be doubtful. In two days the barricades were all destroyed, and the subjection of Paris crushed the efforts of other towns in which similar outbreaks had been prepared.

Immediately after these events the Chambers were dissolved. The new election gave a large majority to the ministry. The Republicans lost seventeen votes; few Legitimists were returned. Lafayette had died in the previous May, and the Republicans had now no leader. Changes took place in the ministry which it is not necessary to record in detail. Thiers and Guizot still remained the most important members of the Cabinet. They disappeared only for a short time. The King had quarrelled with them on the question of an amnesty to political offenders, a measure to which Thiers and Guizot were violently opposed. The King appointed a new ministry under the presidency of the Duc de Bassano. It was received with popular derision. After three days the old ministers were recalled, but on the question of the amnesty they agreed to give way to the King. Ministerial changes.

At this time the battle between Absolutism and Liberalism was being fought out, both in Spain and Portugal. Both countries had Queens as their legitimate sovereigns: Maria reigned in Portugal, Isabella, daughter of Maria Christina, in Spain. Their right was disputed by their uncles, Don Miguel and Don Carlos, who were representatives of the absolute theories of priestly domination. Don Pedro, father of Maria, had resigned the empire of Brazil to accompany his daughter to Europe. The struggle had continued in Portugal since 1826. Canning had taken part against the Miguelites; Wellington rather regarded them with favour. Don Carlos was defeated in Spain, and fled to the camp of Spain and Portugal.

Miguel. It was time for the Powers of Europe to interfere. A quadruple alliance was formed in 1834 between Spain, Portugal, England, and France, and the two pretenders were forced to fly. Portugal was quickly settled under Queen Maria, but Don Carlos was allowed to continue the struggle in the Basque mountains.

The rest of the year 1835 was occupied by the payment of the American debt, and the so-called *Procès a'Avril*, the trial of those who had been concerned in the revolutionary outbreaks of April 1834. The debt to America was due in consequence of the damage done to American commerce during the continental blockade of Napoleon in the years 1806 and 1807. It amounted to about a million of our money, and was paid through the firmness of the Duc de Broglie, who now re-entered the ministry at the urgent request of Guizot. President Jackson did much to render the payment difficult, by an intemperate message to Congress. The trial of the revolutionists was made an opportunity for airing republican opinions, and for exhibiting the talent of young advocates, among whom was Jules Favre. If anything was needed to make the cause of the republic hopeless, it was the explosion of the so-called infernal machine, on the anniversary of the Revolution of July. As the King, accompanied by his three sons and a brilliant staff, was riding down the Boulevard du Temple, on his way to a review in the Place Vendôme, a terrible explosion took place. Forty people were killed and wounded. Marshal Mortier was shot dead; the King was unhurt. It was found that twenty-four gun-barrels had been arranged in the third story of a neighbouring house, in such a way as to be fired simultaneously. Each contained four balls. The assassin, a Corsican named Fieschi. Fieschi, was horribly wounded by the bursting of some of the barrels, and was tracked by his blood. His life was

saved with difficulty, and he was executed with two accomplices.

The natural result of this conspiracy was to rouse a greater energy of repression. Three laws were passed by the Chambers, known as the laws of September. The first was directed against the liberty of the press; the second modified trial by jury; the third increased the penalties against high treason, and made the trial of it more simple. The Broglie ministry did not long survive these measures. The King had always disliked the doctrinaires. He took advantage of a discussion on the Budget to ally himself with the *tiers parti*, who were in opposition. In February 1836 a new ministry was formed, in which the Presidency of the Council and the Portfolio of Foreign Affairs were held by M. Thiers.

Laws of September

CHAPTER III.

THIERS.

THE first ministry of M. Thiers lasted only from February 22 to September 6, 1836. The King, with all his constitutional principles, was determined to be master. His main objects were to preserve peace with all European Powers, and to impress his own will upon his servants. The entry of the troops of Austria, Prussia, and Russia into Warsaw, which put an end to the Polish insurrection, was received in France with perfect indifference—notwithstanding the passion of the French people for the restoration of Poland. The King's two eldest sons visited the German Court and were received with favour. Another attempt upon the King's life excited still more the feeling against republican

Thiers' first ministry.

doctrines, which the extravagances of St. Simon and Enfantin had not tended to make popular.

This spirit was shown by the demand made by France, in conjunction with other Powers, upon Switzerland, that it would refrain from harbouring conspirators who were dangerous to established Governments. The Swiss resisted this attack on their political freedom, as the English resisted it at a later period, and the French incurred ridicule and contempt by the maintenance of political spies. Still the weaker Government was forced to give way.

The war in Spain between the Carlists and the Christinos still continued. England had already intervened according to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance, and France was summoned to do her part. Thiers was willing to accede, but the King refused. At last, when the moderate party came into power, and Queen Christina held out a hope of a French alliance with her daughter, a body of 12,000 men was sent to the Pyrenees. The revolution of La Granja followed, in which the Queen-mother was forced by the party of progress to sign the Liberal Constitution of 1812. The force was withheld. Thiers wished to keep the soldiers under arms, the King insisted on disbanding them. Under these circumstances Thiers resigned his office, and a new ministry was formed, with Molé as President of the Council and Guizot as Minister of Education.

Don Carlos.

The new ministry had very soon to concern itself with the affairs of Algiers. This conquest had been among the last acts of the former dynasty. Under the new reign it had been continued with varying fortunes. General after general had been out without decisive results. The natural resistance lgerians was strengthened by the alliance of the

Algiers.

neighbouring state. In February 1834, after some successes in the province of Oran, peace was made with the young Emir, Abd-el-Kader, the most prominent leader whom the Algerians had as yet found. The Government now deliberately decided that they would maintain Algeria as a French colony. It was invaluable to them as a training ground for soldiers and generals. In 1835 hostilities broke out again, at first with results disastrous to the French. The opposition demanded the appointment of Marshal Clauzel. Maskara, the capital of Abd-el-Kader, was stormed. Clauzel returned to Paris to consult upon future operations. Just at this time the change of ministry took place. Thiers had been eager for the conquest of the colony; Molé cared less about it; and the English Government viewed it with great suspicion. Still Clauzel was sent back to Africa with a sufficient force, but at the end of 1836 failed signally in his attack on the strong fortress of Constantine.

The Government might now feel secure against Legitimists and Republicans. Charles X. and Armand Carrel both died at the close of 1836: the latter the most eloquent and gifted advocate of the republican cause. A new danger arose in the revival of Napoleonism, which might have been thought to have become extinct by the death of Napoleon's son, the Duke of Reichstadt, in 1832. The head of the family was now Louis Napoleon, son of the former King of Holland and Hortense Beauharnais. He had long brooded over his fortune and his star, and had succeeded in gaining over a few individuals of the garrison of Strasburg. On October 30, he marched with a regiment of artillery, commanded by one of his friends, to the infantry barracks. Here he was arrested. After a few days' imprisonment he was allowed to go free to America, and his accomplices were tried and acquitted. Thus, a second time a royal

Louis Napoleon.

conspirator had escaped punishment. One effect of the conspiracy, and of a republican outbreak at Vendôme which happened at the same time, was to overthrow the ministry. They introduced a law to separate civil from military offences, and to punish severely any previous knowledge of a plot. On this, and on a proposal to grant appanages to the King's children, the Cabinet was defeated. Guizot resigned. Molé still remained President.

Parties in the Chamber.

The new ministry gained some credit by their success in Algeria. An advantageous peace was made with Abd-el-Kader, and the strong fortress of Constantine was taken by storm. The new elections of the autumn were on the whole favourable to the Government. The Republican party almost ceased to exist. It surrendered its name and called itself the Left. The chief members of it were Dupont de l'Eure, Lafitte, and Arago. Lafitte was defeated in the elections. From these were severed the party of the Extreme Left, or the Radicals. Garnier Pagès was its only important member, although it included at a later period Michel, Martin, and Ledru Rollin. The Dynastic Left, under Odilon Barrot, wished for a democratic monarchy. Next followed the Left Centre, under Thiers, whose ruling principle was a spirited foreign policy. The Right Centre, composed mainly of prosperous merchants, contained the chief supporters of the ministry, and among these were reckoned Guizot and the doctrinaires. Between the two centres a middle party tried to maintain its independence. The Right, consisting of Legitimists and half Legitimists, ranged between 20 and 30 in number. The Right Centre was as large as all the other parties put together.

The ministry contented itself with the discussion of home questions. The pressure put upon Switzerland to der Prince Louis Napoleon, who had returned to

that country, and was a citizen of the Canton of Aargau, the evacuation of Ancona, the taking of St. Juan d' Ulloa in Mexico, were the chief events in the foreign politics of the year 1838. The same year witnessed the extinction of varied memories by the death of Talleyrand, and the hope of a continuance of the line of Orleans by the birth of the Comte de Paris, son of the Duc d'Orleans. In the meantime the enemies of the Cabinet were uniting their forces. Two sections of the Left, under Thiers and Odilon Barrot, the doctrinaires under Guizot, the whole coalition, as it was called, under Duvergier de Hauranne, were held together by the cry that the King should not only reign but govern. The debate on the address gave an opportunity for crossing swords. After a struggle of twelve days the ministry won by a small majority. The Chambers were dissolved. The verdict of the country was in favour of the coalition. But it was obvious that although they had united to destroy, they could not unite to govern. Molé resigned. The King appointed a provisional ministry of subordinate persons, and on May 12, 1839, a permanent ministry, of which Soult was the head, and of which Dufaure and Villemain were members.

The Coalition.

Sultan Mahmoud had always resisted the Treaty of Kutajah, made in 1833, which surrendered Syria to the Pasha of Egypt. He thought the year 1839 favourable for the declaration of war. His armies crossed the Euphrates, but were defeated by the Egyptian troops at Nisibis with great loss on January 24. The road to Constantinople lay open to Mehemet Ali. The other great Powers of Europe for one reason or another took the side of the Turks. Soult had done what he could to preserve peace; he now prevented the Egyptians from entering Asia Minor. At this juncture the Sultan Mahmoud died, and was succeeded by Abdul

The Eastern Question.

Medjid, a boy of 16. The Turkish fleet, betrayed by its admiral, went over to the side of Mehemet Ali.

Although the King's speech at the opening of the session of 1840 spoke of the concert between France and England, the relations between the two countries were really strained. The English were afraid, on the one hand, lest a too powerful Viceroy in Egypt should close the way to India; and, on the other, lest Turkey should fall into the hands of Russia. The ill feeling between the two Powers showed itself in South America, in Mauritius, in Mexico. When in 1839 Abd-el-Kader raised the standard of a religious war, it was ascribed to the treachery of England. The young Sultan offered Mehemet Ali, as conditions of peace, the hereditary possession of Egypt in his family, and the government of Syria for life. Four of the great Powers supported the proposal. France demanded more. Guizot was sent as ambassador to London to make matters smoother, a form of honourable exile. A proposal made in February to grant an allowance to the Duc de Nemours on his marriage occasioned the overthrow of the ministry. On March 1, Thiers became President of the Council, with Rémusat and Cousin as his colleagues.

France and England.

On May 12, to the great surprise of every one, the Cabinet announced that the English Government had consented to allow the bones of Napoleon I. to be brought from St. Helena to Paris, that he might repose according to his own wish by the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people, whom he had loved so well. The necessary expenses were voted, and a prince of the blood was sent to bring the body home. The immediate effect of this was to revive the hopes of Louis Napoleon. Embarked in an English ·el he landed at Wimereux, near Boulogne, with about

Napoleonism.

60 followers. He tried to corrupt the fidelity of a regiment, and fired into the face of a captain who attempted to arrest him. In a short time, he and his accomplices were secured and the ship in which they had arrived occupied. On board were found a wardrobe of Napoleonic properties, and a tame eagle, which was supposed to typify his victorious flight from steeple to steeple till he reached the tower of Notre-Dame. Decrees were discovered appointing Clauzel Commander-in-Chief, and Thiers Prime Minister. Louis Napoleon was tried before the Chamber of Peers, condemned to imprisonment for life, and confined in the castle of Ham.

France still continued to pursue a policy of isolation towards Mehemet Ali, and to support him in all his claims. On July 15, 1840, a Convention was signed at London between England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, for the settlement of the Eastern difficulty. Mehemet Ali was offered the hereditary possession of Egypt, and the Pashalic of Acre for life. If he did not accept within ten days he was to lose Acre; if he delayed ten days more he was to lose Egypt. In any case he was to restore the Turkish fleet, and to pay a tribute to the Porte. This treaty was not communicated to the French ambassador until after it was signed, and France was then invited to urge Mehemet Ali to accept the terms. The news fell upon the French like a thunderbolt, and wounded their national pride in its tenderest part. The King declared that he would place the cap of freedom on his head and lead a crusade against Europe. Thiers was not less excited. The army and the fleet received large reinforcements, and fortifications were ordered for Paris. The old cry of the conquest of the Rhine was revived. In time this warlike passion cooled down. Reflection convinced the King and Thiers that France could not stand alone against a united Europe.

Quadruple Alliance.

This resolution came too late to save the Viceroy. Relying on the support of France, he had rejected the arrangements proposed to him with scorn. The tribes of the Lebanon rose against him; an English squadron bombarded Beyrout; St. Jean d'Acre was occupied by the English; Alexandria was attacked. In accordance with the Convention of London the Viceroy was deposed by the Sultan. At last his friends interfered. On October 8 a note was addressed by France to the four Powers to the effect that the French Government could not recognise the deposition of Mehemet Ali, and asking for his restoration. A better security for peace was the resignation of Thiers, whose Cabinet was replaced by one under the Presidency of Soult, of which Guizot was the ruling spirit. By the Treaty of London, signed by the four Powers on July 10, 1841, Mehemet Ali was secured in the possession of Egypt. The Porte had shown itself as insolent in victory as it had been abject in defeat. France had now an opportunity of joining the other Powers in a declaration that the Porte had a right to close the Bosphorus and Dardanelles to ships of war of all nations. She then entered again into the European concert; but her unhappy diplomacy had ruined her ally and weakened her own prestige in Europe.

Mehemet Ali.

Guizot did not win his place without a struggle. The debate on the address was continued for many days. Personalities were freely bandied about on either side. At last the Chamber decided for the Minister. It deserted the advocate of parliamentary government, and from this time forth was neither feared by the King nor trusted by the country.

Parliamentary debates.

CHAPTER IV.

GUIZOT.

THE first duty of the ministry was to complete two designs left them as a legacy by their predecessors, the public burial of Napoleon, and the completion of the Paris forts. The first was carried out with great pomp on December 15, a day of bitter cold. The Opposition persisted in regarding the scheme of detached forts as intended rather to enslave Paris than to defend it. They urged strongly that a continuous earthwork and ditch should be added to the design. Neither in 1848 nor in 1870 did the possession of these forts secure the mastery of Paris to the established Government. The unpopularity of the ministry was increased by an attempt to increase the direct taxes in order to meet a loss of revenue, and by the prosecution of Dupoty, the editor of a republican paper, the *Journal du Peuple*. An attempt had been made on the life of the Duc d'Aumale as he was riding with his brothers through the streets of Paris on his return from Africa. It was shown that the assassin and his accomplices were in the habit of meeting in a low wine shop and reading the *Journal du Peuple*. They had even gone so far as to write to the editor, but he never received the letter or noticed them in any way. He was nevertheless condemned to five years' imprisonment. This unjust judgment was generally repudiated, and reverted upon the Government at a later time.

In June 1842, the Chamber was dissolved. It had passed through many vicissitudes. It had overthrown the Cabinet of Molé, endured the government of Soult, forced Thiers on the King, and at last accepted Guizot. The new elections were favourable to the ministry. On the very day on which

Death of the Duke of Orleans.

they took place, a terrible accident occurred. The Duke of Orleans was driving to Neuilly. His horses ran away in the Champs Elysées; he jumped out of the carriage, was dashed to the ground, and died four hours afterwards from concussion of the brain. More sympathy was felt for the royal family than would have been expected. But it was a serious blow to the dynasty. The Comte de Paris, now heir to the throne, was four years old, Louis Philippe was seventy. The Duc de Nemours was appointed regent in case of a minority, in accordance with the wishes of his brother, but against the wishes of the Opposition.

The right of examining foreign vessels for contraband articles has always been a matter of dispute. Nations strong at sea have claimed it, weak nations have refused it. To allow it has always been regarded as favourable to the interests of England, and detrimental to those of France. In 1841, a treaty was signed by the great Powers, which allowed to each nation the mutual rights of search. This was almost necessary for the effectual suppression of the slave trade; but the irritation which existed between France and England prevented its being ratified. The Americans refused to let any other nations search their ships. The French, not strong enough to do this, decided in 1843 to make no new agreement, but to rely on the ambiguous treaties of former years.

The right of search.

Abd-el-Kader had now been for four years in arms against the French Government. The war had been carried on with rigour by General Bugeaud, the successor of General Vallée. Step by step, each fortified place had been wrested from the Emir, but he still contrived to hold his ground. In the spring of 1842, he led an army of 6,000 men against the French, among whom were his allies from Morocco, inflamed with

The Smala.

the zeal of a holy war. In May 1843, the Duc d'Aumale was able to gain a great success. Marching at the head of his cavalry, he perceived the Smala, or wandering camp of the Emir, at a little distance. He attacked, without waiting for his infantry, forced the resistance of the Guards, and brought his prisoners and his booty back in safety to Algiers. Abd-el-Kader himself escaped with difficulty, and was barely able to rescue his mother and his wife.

In September 1843, the Queen of England and her husband paid a visit to Louis Philippe at the country palace of Eu. On the Queen's part, it was regarded as a recognition of the legitimacy of the monarchy of July, and it was intended to confirm the cordial understanding which was supposed to exist between the two countries. Opportunity was taken to request the Queen not to receive at court the Duke of Bordeaux, who was preparing to reside in London. The presence of the legitimate heir of the Bourbons at only a day's journey from Paris gave occasion to numerous pilgrimages to his house in Belgrave Square. On the opening of the new session in December, Guizot attacked the pilgrims with severity. The address to the King was made to assert that the public conscience had been 'branded' by their action. In the disputes which arose about this word, Guizot displayed to the utmost his qualities of pride, eloquence, and courage. Surrounded by a seething crowd of antagonists, who charged him with having himself visited Louis XVIII. at Ghent, he told them that their calumnies, reiterated as they might be, would never rise above the level of his contempt. The 'branding' clause was maintained, and the minister triumphed.

Belgrave Square.

The cordial understanding between France and England was fast becoming a matter of ridicule. The

interests of the two nations were found to clash in the Society Islands. The French were anxious to extend their influence in the South Seas. They had already acquired the sovereignty of the Marquesas Islands, and they had persuaded Queen Pomare of Tahiti to place herself under French protection. Shortly after the signature of the treaty, Dr. Pritchard, who had been English consul and general to the queen, returned to the island after a short absence, and urged her to hoist the flag of independence, and to shake off the fetters of French domination. The admiral, on his return to Tahiti, found the position of affairs completely altered. He deposed Queen Pomare, and claimed possession of the island for the French. The English Cabinet made a serious remonstrance. The Opposition clamoured for the recognition of the admiral's action, and the rejection of foreign interference. When the ministry made known in the *Moniteur* their intention to abide by the terms of the original treaty there was a cry of indignation throughout France. At a later period, Pritchard, who had ceased to be consul, was arrested by the French admiral, as an intriguer, confined on board a French vessel, and then transferred to an English one. On his arrival in England, he made known his grievance. The demand to replace him in Tahiti was steadily refused, but he was satisfied by an indemnity in money. The French Government acted throughout this difficulty with moderation and firmness; but the French nation cared more for brilliant and passionate activity than for the well-balanced pondering of careful compromise.

Queen Pomare.

Before this matter was settled another cause of quarrel had arisen. Abd-el-Kader had received material help from the Emperor of Morocco, with whom he had taken refuge. This and other events seemed likely to produce a war between England and

Morocco.

France, a result by no means acceptable to the English Government, who were at present without rivals in the Morocco sea-board. The French demanded a payment from the Emperor, and the surrender of Abd-el-Kader. The Emperor refused, and the English Government, dreading the result of conflict, sent Mr. Drummond Hay, their consul at Tangiers, to persuade him to yield. Before the acceptance of the ultimatum was known, the Prince de Joinville had destroyed the fortifications of Tangiers and Mogador, and General Bugeaud had gained a brilliant victory over the Moroccan army at Isly. These measures made peace easier. The result of the war was that Abd-el-Kader was driven from Morocco.

The King, accompanied by Guizot, paid a return visit to Queen Victoria in England. In the session of 1845 the ministers were violently assailed in the Upper House by Molé, in the Lower by Thiers. The questions of Morocco, of Tahiti, of the right of search, were made grounds for a charge of subserviency to England. Guizot carried only a small majority. His resignation was tendered, and refused. The opposition was emboldened by success. Strict laws against the Jesuits had been in existence since the Martignac ministry, but they were not enforced. They conducted the education of the children of good society of both sexes. They were more flourishing than under the Bourbons. Thiers demanded the execution of the laws against them; they defended themselves, as they have done since, by pleading for freedom of education. At last the demand for their suppression was carried by a large majority. The Government did not think it wise to enforce it themselves. They sent an envoy to the Pope, who ordered the Jesuits to close their establishments. At the same time the dispute about the right of search was settled by France agreeing to put down

Session of 1845.

the slave trade, but retaining the exclusive right to search its own ships.

The session of 1846 was uneventful. It was marked only by the cruelties of the Austrian Government in Gallicia, which roused no reproach in France, and by the escape of Prince Napoleon from the fortress of Ham, in the dress of a workman named Badinguet. The Chamber was dissolved, and the new election gave a large majority to the ministry. This was not effected without suspicion of corruption. Little was it thought that the Government, so strongly supported, was hastening to its fall. Nothing tended to discredit the Government more than the question of the Spanish marriages. The marriage of the Queen of Spain had long been discussed. It was supposed to be for the interest of England that she should not marry a French prince, and for the interest of France that she should not marry a Coburg. Louis Philippe agreed to this arrangement, but he desired the marriage of his son, the Duc de Montpensier, with the Queen's sister. The English Government stipulated that the marriage should only take place after the Queen of Spain had given birth to a child. Guizot consented that the marriages should not take place at the same time. These negotiations continued for several years. A change of ministry occurred in England. Lord Palmerston talked again of a Coburg alliance. The Queen came of age, and determined to marry her cousin, Francis of Assisi. Her sister was married on the same day to the Duc de Montpensier. Guizot had manifestly broken his word, and he urged in vain that the marriages had not been literally simultaneous. His conduct was condemned by England and Europe. The French were deaf to the cry that the Pyrenees had ceased to exist. For once national honour was of more account to them than

The Spanish marriages.

glory. This clumsy diplomacy entirely failed of its results. The Queen had children, contrary to Guizot's expectation. Both she and Louis Philippe were driven from their thrones. The Duc de Montpensier was not suffered to reside in Spain. His daughter, who married Queen Isabella's son, died within six months of her marriage. Nothing is more pitiable than the worldly wisdom of a philosopher.

The distress in England which was the immediate cause of free trade had its parallel in France. For some time past, bad harvests had produced suffering and discontent. The Corn Laws were suspended; but the hard winter in the Black Sea, and the impassable roads in the south of France, prevented the relief of Russian corn from reaching the population. The Bank of France was nearly exhausted, and was on the point of suspending cash payments, when it was saved by the unexpected assistance of the Emperor of Russia. In the provinces, bands of armed men demanded men and money. Corn-shops were attacked in the towns; boats and waggons carrying corn were plundered in the country. At Buzançais, some suspected regrators were murdered. The troops put down these disorders, but each exercise of their power increased the irritation. The ministers had a compact majority, but symptoms of disaffection appeared. A new section of progress conservatives was led by Emile de Girardin in the *Presse*, and by Duvergier de Hauranne in the House. The Government was suspected of reigning by corruption. Judicial scandals were disclosed. The Duc de Praslin murdered his wife, and the suicide in prison, which saved him from trial, was thought to have been the result of official collusion.

Internal troubles.

In the face of the official majority, the opposition was powerless. Odilon Barrot put himself at the head of a

movement to reform the representation. To make the cause popular it was determined to hold a number of re-

Reform banquets.

form banquets, where speeches could be made with greater freedom than in a public meeting. Thiers took no active part in the movement, although he gave it his fullest sympathy. The first banquet took place on July 9 at Château-Rouge, near Paris. A thousand guests were present. The fashion made the tour of France. At Mâcon, where a banquet was given to Lamartine to celebrate the publication of his 'History of the Girondists,' he declared emphatically that the monarchy would fall, not in blood as in 1789, but in the snare which it had laid for itself.

The trial of Teste, who had been Minister of Public Works, for corruption, further discredited the Govern-

The Sonderbund.

ment. There was indeed reason for alarm. Switzerland and Italy were at this time engaging the attention of Europe. In both countries the quarrel between Conservatives and Liberals, the clerical and the lay spirit, was being fought out. In Switzerland seven cantons of Catholic tendencies formed themselves into a separate league, or Sonderbund, to oppose the Liberal measures of the Diet. Lucerne, the head of this confederacy, incited the Jesuits to take charge of their schools. The Diet ordered their expulsion by force of arms. The Sonderbund raised a force of 30,000 men. The Diet placed its army under General Dufour. In Italy a Liberal Pope had been elected to the throne. Pius IX., on his accession, identified himself with the highest aspirations of his country. His views were shared by the Grand Duke of Tuscany and other princes. The dream of Dante was to be realised. There was a hope of Italy resuming her place among the progressive nations of the world. Both these movements were regarded with suspicion by Austria. Prince Metternich held fast to the

principles of repression which the Treaty of Vienna had inaugurated. He encouraged the Sonderbund, occupied the castle of Ferrara, and massed an Austrian army on the Italian frontier. Russia and Prussia followed in the same course. Louis Philippe and his ministers, representing a country which prided itself on being the advocate of freedom, were driven by fear of revolution to support the Austrian policy. Happily, England, under the influence of Palmerston, refused to join the European concert. The war of the Sonderbund was finished before a foreign intervention could take place, but the ardour of Italy broke out into action too rapid for permanence, and too inconsiderate for success.

The session of 1848 opened under these gloomy auspices. France was impoverished in funds, discredited abroad, and disaffected at home. Madame Adelaide, the King's sister, one of the supports of the ministry, suddenly died. Abd-el-Kader surrendered under a safe conduct, which was rejected by the home Government, and he was confined in a French fortress. The ministry was violently attacked. Their corruption, their management of the finances, their conduct in Switzerland and Italy, were vigorously assailed. The address to the crown was carried, but it was the last victory they gained. The opposition was embarrassed. They had no means of appealing to the people. It was suggested that they should all resign their seats, to bring about the agitation of a new election. At last it was decided to hold a large reform banquet in Paris. The day was fixed for February 22; the place was the Champs Elysées. This would bring them into direct antagonism with the Government, for the Minister of the Interior, relying on an old law of 1790, declared that no such banquet could be allowed.

Session of 1848.

Both parties seemed anxious to avoid a struggle. The

validity of the law by which the banquet was forbidden was doubtful. It was proposed as a compromise that the banquet should be held, that those present should be summoned to disperse, and that on their refusal the question should be tried by the courts and finally settled. The programme of the festival was published. It anticipated the collection of an enormous crowd. The National Guard was incited to assemble in the Place de la Madeleine, to marshal itself in the Place de la Madeleine, armed with sabres, but not with guns. The Government regarded this as a menace; the reformers defended it as a guarantee of order. In virtue of an undisputed law, the assembly in the public square was forbidden by the minister. The reformers had little time left for deliberation. They determined not to run the risk of a collision. They announced that the banquet would not take place, but appealed to a vindication of justice near at hand. They seemed to expect it from the Chambers, but it was destined to come from the Parisian mob.

The Banquet of Feb. 22.

BOOK IV.

REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

THE opposition was anxious to avoid an outbreak. In spite of their precautions, the people assembled in the Place de la Madeleine. Some did not know that the banquet had been put off; some were eager for disturbance. Their number was about 50,000; they were unarmed, and women and children were among

Revolution.

them. A column, formed chiefly of students, forced its way over the Place de la Concorde to the Chamber of Deputies. Driven back by cavalry into the neighbouring streets, they erected a few barricades. On the night of the 22nd, Paris was tranquil; the troops were unwisely left in the streets under arms. The next morning the people were more excited. Many barricades were formed. The crowd was armed. The cries in favour of reform and against the ministry increased in vehemence. The National Guard was called out, but soon fraternised with the people. The King refused to believe the gravity of the crisis. Guizot was fully persuaded of it. He resigned his office. For a moment the storm was stilled. The troops and the people felt that a load was taken from their hearts. The republican party believed that their cause was lost. It was nine o'clock in the evening: the city was illuminated, crowds thronged the boulevards: they were most thickly massed before the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where a force of fifty men protected the hotel of the fallen minister from a possible attack. Suddenly a shot was fired, either from the soldiers or from the crowd. The troops replied by a volley. Fifty corpses lay stretched on the ground, and many more were wounded. They were lifted by their friends on to a passing tumbril, and dragged through the streets, men, women, and children, their bleeding wounds exposed. The tocsin sounded from the towers the knell of the monarchy of July.

Molé, the spirit of moderation, had at first been appointed as successor to Guizot. At midnight on the 23rd, the King sent for Thiers, who refused to serve as minister without Odilon Barrot as his colleague. Bugeaud was entrusted with the military command of Paris. He was adored by the troops, but his proved severity might tend as much to harden as

Abdication.

to dismay the mob. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 24th, a proclamation signed by Thiers and Odilon Barrot announced the new government. The watch-words were 'Liberty, Order, Reform.' The troops were forbidden to fire. The aged Marshal Gérard superseded Bugeaud. Resistance was then abandoned. Barricades were rising in all directions. The troops were sluggish and indifferent. The new ministry excited no enthusiasm. Odilon Barrot, once so popular, was hissed by the crowd. The *Réforme* announced, 'Louis Philippe assassinates us like Charles X. Let him go and join him.' In the course of the morning the Palais Royal, the private property of the Orleans family, was attacked, and its valuable contents destroyed. The King, with two of his sons, rode on horseback through the troops, but was received with chilling silence and with cries of 'Reform.' At two o'clock Emile de Girardin broke unannounced into the King's chamber, and told him that the only means of saving the monarchy was to abdicate, and to proclaim the Duchess of Orleans regent. The King and Queen were unwilling to take this step; but his sons, especially the Duc de Montpensier, pressed it upon him with vehemence. Bugeaud came too late to prevent the fatal act. The King wrote: 'I surrender the crown which I was summoned to bear by the voice of the nation, and which I only assumed to secure peace and unity to the French. As I find it impossible to fulfil this task, I make it over to my grandson the Comte de Paris. May he be more fortunate than I have been!' The abdication was of no use, and it destroyed the last hope of saving the throne. The King took off his uniform, dressed himself as a private citizen, gave his arm to the Queen, and passed through the Tuileries gardens, amidst the tears of all who saw him. The royal carriages were in the hands of the mob. The royal family drove in two cabs at a gallop to St. Cloud.

The King's abdication was received with shouts of 'Long live the Republic!' The troops were withdrawn from the defence of the Tuileries, which was occupied by the mob. The Duchess of Orleans, with her two children, one nine the other seven years old, walked on foot to the Chamber of Deputies. Here a painful scene ensued. The deputies were afraid to accept her son as King, or to proclaim a Republic. The galleries were filling with the mob. The mention of a Provisional Government was hailed with applause. At last a deputy cried that the power of the Chamber was no more. An armed throng broke into the room: a butcher, with a bloodstained apron and a slaughtering knife in his hand, strode up and down the floor. Crémieux, Ledru Rollin, and Lamartine spoke in favour of a national convention. A new horde of ruffians flooded the hall, drunk with the wine of the Tuileries cellars. The Duchess escaped with difficulty; her two sons were torn from her; the eldest was quickly found, but the Duc de Chartres was not restored to her till the following day. The Duchess of Orleans.

Lamartine ascended the tribune. He persuaded those present to vote for the members of a Provisional Government. As the names were read out they received the applause of the people. They were Dupont de l'Eure, Lamartine, Arago, Marie, Garnier Pagès, Ledru Rollin, and Crémieux. The members of the Government, escorted by an armed throng, marched to the Hôtel de Ville; there they found another list containing besides the names mentioned those of Marrast, Flocon, Louis Blanc, and Albert, an artisan. They were first attached to the Government as secretaries, but afterwards admitted as regular members. Thus had the Republicans unexpectedly triumphed. On the 22nd they had no hope of success: chance as much as wisdom had given the battle into their hands. The King's cause The Republic.

was ruined by his abdication; yet we cannot be sure that resistance would have saved him.

The Government had great difficulty in finding a room to meet in, and in collecting its members. A proclamation in favour of republic government drawn up by Lamartine was copied and distributed from the windows. The offices of State were assigned: Lamartine undertook the charge of Foreign, Ledru Rollin of Home Affairs, Marie of Public Works, Arago of the Navy, Carnot of Education. Dupont de l'Eure held the post of President. The Hôtel de Ville was beset by a surging crowd. The barricades were still manned by armed citizens. The barricades were attacked and the soldiers ill-treated. The ministers gave their orders amidst the thronging of a mob which seemed to threaten their safety. Many times their fury was restrained by the eloquence of Lamartine. 'What do you want?' he once cried to them. 'Your head!' was the answer. 'Would to God you all had it on your shoulders,' he replied, 'then you would be more sensible.' The mob shouted with laughter and applause. A *garde mobile* was organised, mainly of lads from fourteen to twenty. They showed themselves as powerful for the preservation of order as they had been for disturbance. On the 25th new crowds assailed the Hôtel de Ville; they bore the Red Flag, the ensign of the worst excesses of the first revolution. They surrounded the palace with corpses brought from the hospitals, and dead horses from the knackers. The eloquence of Lamartine alone held them back and saved the tricolour of moderation.

The Red Flag.

One point the Government was weak enough to concede, mainly through the instance of Louis Blanc. A decree, signed on February 25, recognised the right of every workman to labour; agreed to give employment to all who demanded it, and to allow

The Republic.

the association of artisans to enjoy the advantages of their toil. To carry this out, public workshops were instituted, where everyone might find employment at a fixed wage. The plan was an entire failure: the workshops degenerated into centres of idleness and licence. On the 26th, the abolition of the punishment of death was announced by Lamartine in a glowing speech. The Republic was solemnly proclaimed on February 27 from the steps of the column which marks the site of the Bastille. Marshals, generals, and officials gave in their adhesion. Two of the princes of the royal house, the Duc d'Aumale, in command of an army in Algeria, the Prince de Joinville, in command of the fleet in the Mediterranean, might have brought on a civil war. They were wise enough to surrender their commands; they reached England in safety, where the King and the rest of the royal family had already found a refuge.

The first question which the new Government had to determine was the position which it should take up towards Europe. Should it bring peace or war among the nations? Should it respect the Treaties of 1815, the symbols of servitude and defeat? Lamartine issued a circular to the courts of Europe, which, while repudiating in theory the Treaties of 1815, recognised them as accomplished facts. He declared, with an ardent sympathy for oppressed nationalities, that interference with the revolutionary movements of Switzerland and Italy would be considered as a legitimate cause of war. Foreign relations.

There was great danger of the country becoming bankrupt. A large deficit had been left by the monarchy; under the republic, the expenses of Government were increased and the receipts diminished. Garnier Pagès undertook the charge of finances, from which the banker Goudchaux shrunk. He borrowed Finances.

ten millions from the Bank of France, and in return gave its notes a forced currency, while he increased the direct taxes by forty-five per cent. The public workshops were draining the national wealth. A parliament of workmen seated at the Luxembourg, under the presidency of Louis Blanc, was embarrassing the regular Government. The Government exerted itself to double the strength of the army. Corps of observation were massed upon all the frontiers. There was a general imitation of the first revolution. A hundred clubs were formed in Paris of women as well as men. Newspapers sprang up like mushrooms. Paris was again flooded with ravings of the *Ami du Peuple*, and of the *Père Duchesne*. The most influential paper was the *Presse*, edited by Emile de Girardin.

The next duty of the Government was to provide for the election of a Constituent Assembly. The ultra-republicans and socialists, whose strength lay in the clubs, had combined together under the name of Social Democrats. Their object was to defer the elections as long as possible, in order to secure the return of members of their own party. The most democratic members of the Government were Louis Blanc and Ledru Rollin. It became known that a scheme was on foot for establishing a committee of public safety, with Ledru Rollin at the head of it. The Government took measures to defend itself. On April 16, the clubs arranged a meeting of 40,000 men in the Champ de Mars. The pretext given was to make a collection of money to be offered to the Government. It was feared that the real object was an attack on the Hôtel de Ville. Ledru Rollin, who had no desire for the honour thrust on him, informed Lamartine of the intended demonstration. The workmen found the streets occupied by soldiers, their advancing columns intercepted, and access to the Hôtel de Ville prevented. Only a deputation from the workmen

The Social Democrats.

was admitted to present their offering. They and the Government parted with mutual compliments. But it was felt that the Social Democrats had suffered a defeat, and the Government was strengthened by this first attempt to overthrow it. The National Guard had shown themselves partisans of order, and had cried, 'Down with the Communists!' A review, held a few days later, showed that their numbers amounted to 350,000 strong.

By a decree of the Government, every French man of full age received a vote, any one over 25 was capable of election. The number of the Assembly was fixed at 900, which gave the proportion of one member for every 40,000 of the population. Each department formed an electoral district. The votes were all counted in Paris. The results of the elections were disappointing to the extreme party. Paris chose for the most part moderate, sensible, and distinguished men. Lamartine received the largest number of votes. There were some disturbances at Rouen and at Limoges. The Assembly met on May 4. The members of the Provisional Government were received with loud applause. The familiar forms of Guizot and Thiers were absent. The Legitimists were represented by Berryer and Larochejacquelin, the Ultramontanes by Montalembert and Lacordaire. After the necessary preliminaries, Lamartine, in the name of his colleagues, rendered an account of his stewardship. He was followed by each of the ministers in turn. They then resigned their offices. The Assembly applied themselves to the task of making a constitution.

The elections.

The Government had resigned; it was necessary to supply their place. Lamartine appeared to be summoned by the choice of the people to the post of President. He had been elected in ten districts; he had received in all nearly two million votes. He wavered, but refused. In place of a single individual

The Executive Committee.

an executive commission was elected. It consisted of Arago, Garnier Pagès, Marie, Lamartine, Ledru Rollin. They were to name the ministers of departments. The Social Democrats determined to avenge their exclusion from the Chamber, and if possible to dissolve it and overturn the Government. Sympathy with the cause of Poland afforded a pretext. On May 15, the day fixed for discussion on that subject, 100,000 men, inspired by the clubs, met in the Place de la Bastille. No efficient measures had been taken for the security of Paris. The mob marched towards the House of Assembly, and was not stopped. Some of them, with Blanqui and Raspail at their head, forced their way into the room of meeting. An address was read in favour of the restoration of Poland. The hall was thronged by succeeding crowds. The President was insulted and menaced. Louis Blanc, attempting to restrain the people, was hoisted in triumph on their shoulders and nearly suffocated. After some hours of conflict, Huber, in the name of a betrayed people, declared the Assembly dissolved. At last the *rappel* was beaten, and the *garde mobile* assembled. In the meantime the Hôtel de Ville had been attacked, a new Government appointed, and war proclaimed against Austria, Prussia, and Russia, if they delayed the restoration of Poland. Lamartine and Ledru Rollin put themselves at the head of the soldiers, marched to the Hôtel de Ville, and arrested the heads of the conspiracy without trouble. They were imprisoned at Vincennes, and order was quickly restored. It was necessary to punish those who had neglected the defence of the capital. The Montagnards, a police force formed out of the lowest of the population, and the republican guard were disbanded, a large reinforcement to the ranks of anarchy. A Feast of Concord was held on May 21.

The first days of June saw some important additions

to the Assembly—Thiers and Changarnier, Victor Hugo, Proudhon, and Louis Napoleon. The person last mentioned had returned to Paris immediately after the revolution of February, but he had left on the suggestion of the Provisional Government. He was now elected in Paris and four departments. An attempt was made to exclude him from the Assembly, but he was admitted by a large majority. The Assembly had now to face the question of the national workshops, the *ateliers nationaux*. They had cost enormous sums; they had entirely failed in their object. The work done was useless. They attracted the idle vagabonds of the provinces to Paris. The pay given was only two francs a day, yet in the beginning of June there were 117,000 names inscribed on the lists. To continue them threatened bankruptcy, to dissolve them threatened revolution. On June 20 an additional vote of four millions was proposed for their maintenance. The Executive Commission decided that all unmarried workmen between 17 and 25 must enter military service, or go to work in the provinces. They knew that this decision would produce an outbreak, and had made all preparations.

National workshops.

The struggle came on June 23. The defence of Paris was entrusted to Cavaignac. The battle raged in every part of the capital; the night only put an end to the conflict for a time. The Assembly did not suspend its sitting. On June 24 both parties received reinforcements. Paris was declared in a state of siege, and Cavaignac was made dictator. He ordered that no one should appear in the streets without a pass, and that no window should be opened. By the end of the day the left bank of the Seine was almost entirely in the possession of the troops. On the 25th the fight was continued with more violent exasperation. All attempts at conciliation failed. General Bréa, who went to treat with

The days of June.

the insurgents, was barbarously murdered by them. Affre, Archbishop of Paris, preceded by an emblem of peace, accompanied by two of his vicars, approached the great barricade which barred the entrance to the Faubourg St. Antoine. He urged the people to accept the terms offered by Cavaignac. While the genuineness of Cavaignac's signature was being discussed a stray ball struck the Archbishop. He was treated with every care and tenderness by the insurgents; was carried to his palace with a great escort, but died two days afterwards the death of a martyr. The deputies who were with him were arrested. Cavaignac refused to negotiate any more. He made it known that if the quarter of St. Antoine did not surrender unconditionally before ten the next morning he would attack it with all his force. He kept his word. In an hour resistance was at end. In the four days fighting twelve thousand insurgents had perished.

CHAPTER II.

CAVAIGNAC.

ON June 28 Cavaignac surrendered to the Assembly the extraordinary powers with which he had been invested. He received the thanks of his country, and wa made head of the Executive Commission and President of the Cabinet. He appointed a number of ministers, whose names it is not necessary to mention. The command of the National Guard was given to Changarnier. The policy of the new Government was reactionary. The national workshops were abolished, the more extravagant of the clubs were closed, and eleven papers reduced to silence, among them the *Presse*. The ate of siege was continued. Such was the result of four

Reaction.

months of a Republican Government. A proposal made by Proudhon to raise five hundred millions for the service of the State by an income-tax of one third on property of all kinds was unanimously rejected. An inquiry into the causes of the disturbances of June resulted in the voluntary exile of Louis Blanc and Caussidière. Several thousands of the rioters were condemned to transportation. The object of Cavaignac was to maintain the moderate and honest Republic secure against the Reds on the one side, and against the Legitimists and Bonapartists on the other. Louis Napoleon appeared in Paris, and was elected to the Assembly. He took his seat on September 21, and in his first speech alluded to his thirty-three years of exile, and expressed his gratitude to his country.

The Assembly now addressed itself with vigour to the task of making the Constitution. The existence of an abstract right to labour was the occasion of a violent discussion. It was rejected by a large majority. So also was the proposal to abolish the punishment of death. It was decided by a majority of two thirds that there should only be a single Chamber. This seemed to give greater security for a strong Government. Universal suffrage and direct election were confirmed. The polling places were to be few in number. The most important question was the election of President: should he be chosen by the Assembly or by the people? The latter course would make him independent, and more powerful than the Chamber itself. It would forge anew the chains which had with such difficulty been broken. Félix Pyat insisted on this solemn warning. Jules Grévy proposed that all members of families who had reigned in France should be incapable of being elected. Both these cautions were unheeded. The eloquence of Lamartine won the day. The President was to be elected by universal suffrage. The wooden horse was admitted

The Constitution.

within the walls of Troy. The Constitution was read for the first time on October 29, and the President was to be chosen on December 10. In the second reading it was declared high treason for the President to interfere with the sovereignty of the Assembly. If he transgressed, his post was considered *ipso facto* vacant, and the duty of Government passed to the Chambers. In the Constitution, as finally adopted, the Chamber was to consist of 750 paid members, and was to sit permanently for three years. The President was elected for a term of four years, and was not capable of re-election until an interval of four years had elapsed.

The foreign relations of the republic required great delicacy of handling. Russia was suspected and suspicious, England was friendly, Austria and Prussia were occupied with their own affairs. The greatest difficulty lay in Italy, where Austria and Sardinia were at war. It was hard for France to remain neutral. A corps of observation was massed on the frontier of the Alps, and a rupture seemed imminent. A new trouble arose in Rome. The Pope, who had begun his reign as a friend of liberal opinions, was terrified by the murder of his minister Rossi, and was compelled to leave Rome. He was offered by the French a retreat at St. Cloud, but he preferred to seek an asylum at Gaeta in the kingdom of Naples.

Foreign affairs.

The internal condition of Paris was full of anxiety. There was a pressure of universal poverty. 300,000 people were supported by alms. This made Cavaignac unpopular, and it was not forgotten that he had been raised to power by the merciless suppression of the revolt of June. It was understood that the choice of President lay between him and Prince Louis Napoleon. The strength of Prince Louis lay with the peasants; they had not forgotten the glory of his uncle, and

Election of President.

they believed that he would relieve them from their heaviest taxes. The Republicans covered him with insult, and even denied the legitimacy of his birth. The Constitutional Monarchists, however—Thiers, Molé, Montalembert—declared for his side. His manifesto promised every kind of liberal reform, and gave the most solemn assurances against the cupidity of ambition. His success appeared more and more certain as the day of election approached. The result surpassed all anticipation; out of 7,327,315 votes, Prince Louis received 5,434,226, Cavaignac obtained 1,443,107, Ledru Rollin, the candidate of the mountain, 370,119, Raspail, the representative of the social democrats, 36,920. Lamartine, lately the darling of the people, received only 17,910. The result of the election was made known on December 20, and Cavaignac resigned. The President, on entering upon his office, swore in the presence of God and of the French people that he would remain faithful to the democratic republic, one and indivisible, and that he would fulfil all the duties which the Constitution imposed upon him.

CHAPTER III.

PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON.

THE President of the new Cabinet was Odilon Barrot. Drouyn de l'Huys had charge of Foreign Affairs. The most important person in the ministry was the Comte de Falloux, a clericalist, who held the Portfolio of Education. The Cabinet united all parties. The position of the President was a difficult one. His power was uncertain and depended on the Assembly. The people had formed extravagant expectations of his rule; he was pestered by the demands of adherents who

End of the Constituent Assembly.

had served his uncle's cause and his own. The Chamber was in his way, yet he did not dare to dissolve it. A proposition made by a deputy, Rateau, on December 29, that a Legislative Assembly should take the place of the Constituent, was rejected; but it was clear that the end was near. The President began to assert his authority over the ministers; he held a brilliant court at the Elysée; he advanced his relations to important posts; he decorated those who had assisted him in the attempts of Strasburg and Boulogne. At last the National Assembly on Febuary 14 ordered the election of a Legislative Assembly in three months, and so proclaimed its own extinction.

Italy.

There is no doubt that since the year 1831 Louis Napoleon had been pledged to use any power which he might obtain in France for the purpose of liberating Italy. The redemption of this promise was now demanded. Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, had been defeated at Novara, and Piedmont lay at the feet of Austria. On the departure of the Pope from Rome his subjects set up a provisional government. The French people had strong sympathy with the Italians. An armed intervention was proposed, was popularly supported, and was only prevented by the moderation of Austria. With some inconsistency, 10,000 men were sent to Rome under General Oudinot to restore the temporal power of the Pope. The French troops were repulsed with loss by the republicans under Garibaldi, and the French now understood for the first time that their arms were being used for the suppression of liberty. This was contrary to the fifth article of the Constitution. The Constituent Assembly came to an end. The election for the Legislative Assembly took place on May 13. The result was surprising. The majority was formed of Legitimists and Orleanists; the number of Social Democrats increased; the Bonapartists were only a small hand-

ful, and the staunch Republicans were confined to the smallest dimensions. Lamartine, before returned in ten districts, was on this occasion not elected. The first sitting of the new Assembly was held on May 28.

The President's message defended the expedition to Rome, but it was soon to lead to new troubles. M. de Lesseps had arranged a friendly truce between the triumvirate which governed Rome and the French troops. They were to be allowed to enter the city as friends of the Republic. Oudinot refused to agree to this arrangement, and insisted upon taking the city by force. He was supported by the President. Ledru Rollin solemnly impeached the President and his Cabinet for breaking the fifth article of the Constitution, which forbade the French arms to be used for the repression of freedom. When this was rejected by the Assembly on June 13, he summoned the people to defend the Constitution. A large crowd marched without arms to the hall of Assembly, and was stopped by two regiments of dragoons. Paris was declared in a state of siege. Ledru Rollin escaped, but some of his adherents were shot. A number of deputies were arrested. The Government felt itself obliged to adopt repressive measures. Newspapers and clubs were put down, sympathy with foreign movements was checked. Rome was taken by the French troops, and the Pope restored. The Assembly was adjourned on August 12. June 13.

The history of the next two years consists of the efforts made by the President gradually to undermine the Republic, and to establish the Empire in its place. In the first object he was aided by the Chamber, whose sympathies were strongly Orleanist or Legitimist, but it was violently opposed to the second. His progresses through France were directed to this end. The imagination of the people was stirred by the recollection of his uncle, and the word 'empire' was repeated The President.

with louder and louder emphasis. The ministry had the confidence of the Chamber, but they were a check upon the President. He therefore determined to remove them, and at the end of October issued a manifesto, in which he declared that the election of December 10 was an adhesion to Napoleonic principles, and that it was necessary that he should have a Cabinet at unity with himself. A new ministry was gazetted. It contained men of moderate ability, among whom were the well-known names of Fould and Rouher. The President renewed his promise of loyalty to the Constitution, but every one expected a *coup d'état.*

Education.

One fruit of the alliance between the President and the clerical party was an attack upon the system of universal primary education. It was accused by its opponents as favourable to socialism and discontents. By a new law passed in March 1850, the teachers were placed in the power of the prefects, under the guise of liberty of instruction the schools were thrown open to the Catholics, and four bishops were placed on the Higher Council of Education. At a later period, teachers in secondary schools, and keepers of boarding-houses, were deprived of their positions for their republican opinions; and finally, the higher education was attacked in the person of the historian Michelet. His lectures were forbidden as contrary to the best interests of the Collège de France.

Contest with the Chamber.

At the end of May, universal suffrage was limited by requiring two years of fixed domicile, as a qualification for the franchise. A law was passed compelling the signature of all newspaper articles. The President's income was largely increased. The dissension between himself and the Chamber became more apparent. The committees were chosen almost entirely from Legitimists and Orleanists. During

the autumn, the President made a progress in the provinces, where he was received with very various sentiments. In October steps were taken to gain over the army. Reviews were held at St. Maur and Satory, on which the troops, excited by a copious feast, shouted in honour of Napoleon and the Empire. Changarnier condemned this outburst by an order of the day, enjoining silence in the ranks; and his deprivation was resolved upon. As the most illustrious generals of the army were members of the Chamber and staunch Republicans, new generals were created at the Elysée who should be favourable to the Empire.

In January 1851, a new ministry came into office more decidedly Bonapartist. The first step was to deprive General Changarnier of his commands. Frequent requests had been made for the revision of the Constitution, and a committee was appointed to carry it out. It meant nothing more than a prolongation of the Presidentship. The Chamber continued the struggle with spirit. It passed a vote of want of confidence in the ministry, and forced it to resign. The President refused to nominate its successor from the victorious majority. The Chamber refused to grant an additional increase to the President's allowance. After a three months' crisis, he replaced the principal ministers which the Chamber had dismissed. In a speech at Dijon, the President openly complained of the hostility of the Chamber to his measures for the public good. The revision of the Constitution recommended by the committee did not obtain the necessary majority of two thirds in the house. The time for the new elections approached. The President's office was to expire on May 1, 1852, and he could not be re-elected till an interval of four years had elapsed. Important posts were confided to his devoted friends. Magnan, St. Arnaud,

The plot thickens.

and Maupas were so placed as to be of signal service. The Assembly was deprived of the authority over the army, which had been confided to it in 1848. In November, the President was able to assure the nation that in traversing a pathless space, the Government would be able to fulfil its mission, strong in the support of the people, and in the power of God.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COUP D'ÉTAT.

IT had become obvious to all reflecting people that a *coup d'état* must sooner or later take place, which would place Louis Napoleon on the Imperial throne. His star shone in the van; bankruptcy pressed him in the rear. The conspirators were ready at their posts. St. Arnaud, whose real name was Leroy, had been dismissed from the army under Charles X., had made a reputation in Algeria, and was just the man for a desperate enterprise. Morny, the natural brother of the President, was remarkable for his imperturbable disposition, and his freedom from prejudice and scruple. Maupas, at the head of the police, was a *parvenu* willing to be a blind instrument in the hands of his masters. Magnan, commander of the troops in Paris, was only kept informed so far as he could be trusted. More important than all these was Persigny, whose real name was Fiolin, and who had been the chosen confederate of Prince Louis in his previous plots. The blow was determined upon, but the manner of its execution was undecided. Every one foresaw it; yet it took every one by surprise.

The conspirators.

On the evening of December 1, a brilliant assembly

was collected in the saloons of the Elysée Bourbon. The President was in high spirits. At midnight the guests dispersed. The police received their orders. They were bidden to arrest from 80 to 100 persons, among whom were Changarnier, Cavaignac, and Thiers. The victims had been closely watched, their habits were known, and most of them were taken in their beds. Paris was occupied with troops. Proclamations were posted in the streets. The people were told that the Assembly was dissolved, and that the President appealed to the nation at large. A constitution was suggested, consisting of a responsible chief nominated for five years, ministers dependent on the Executive, a council of State to prepare measures for the Chambers, a legislative body, and a senate. Universal suffrage was established, and the people were called upon to exercise their functions. The army was flattered by a separate address, destined to work upon them by the name of Napoleon. When the population of Paris awoke on December 2, they found the *coup d'état* accomplished, the Constitution overthrown, the city in a state of siege, and in the power of the army. Remonstrance was not thought of, the Assembly was the only power to which men could turn. Its hall of meeting was occupied, and its members dispersed. A number of deputies, under the presidency of Odilon Barrot, met in the mairie of the Tenth Arrondissement, and declared that the President had broken the Constitution. The people were urged to refuse their obedience, and the High Court of Justice was summoned to try the offenders. The step was useless. The mairie was cleared by soldiers, and the assembled deputies were sent to prison. The judges of the High Court were in the same way dispersed by force. Paris was without news, as the offices of twelve journals had been occupied by troops. December 2.

The day of the *coup d'état* had passed without disturbance. The people were sick of revolutions. On the next morning barricades were formed in the streets, and one or two victims were shot. On December 4 the barricades were more numerous; they were stormed without difficulty, but with great cruelty. Many hundreds of peaceable and inoffensive citizens were wantonly slaughtered on the boulevards. Arrests continued without intermission; 750 persons were confined in the fort of Bicêtre alone, and there were at least as many in several other forts. They comprised the most distinguished men in France. Some were set at liberty and conducted over the frontier, the greater number were transported to Cayenne. The provinces heard of the *coup d'état* with general indifference. Nantes alone offered resistance. In the centre of France bands of peasants collected to defend the republic, but they were easily dispersed. The army was won by bribes, the clergy by concessions. The people, when asked if they would accept the new Constitution, answered yes by 7,439,216 votes to 646,737 noes. On the last day of the year the diplomatic body congratulated the President on his victory, and on January 1, 1852, a solemn Te Deum in Notre-Dame invoked a blessing on Napoleon.

Order is restored.

On the first day of the new year the President changed his residence from the Elysée to the Tuileries, and the Imperial eagles were placed upon the standards. The new Constitution was proclaimed on the 14th. The President was declared the responsible head of the State; a senate was to be nominated by him; a legislative body was to be elected by the people. On January 22 two decrees confiscated a large part of the property of the Orleans family, and obliged them to sell the rest.

The Prince President.

is was the first of a series of edicts, which usurped
rce of laws, and affected the elections, the army,

and the press, and which profoundly modified the Constitution. The confiscation was scarcely approved of even by the adherents of the Prince. The Assembly was chosen on February 27. It consisted of 261 members, nearly all Bonapartists. Before it met the decrees of the President received the force of law. They had placed the appointment of the National Guard in the hands of the prefects, provided for the removal of professors and judges, established a censorship of the press, and reduced the interest of the national debt from 5 to 4½ per cent.

The Assembly and the senate met on March 29. The President in his speech justified the *coup d'état.* He said that he might have made himself Emperor if he had wished, and that it might even now become necessary to take this step. The session was unimportant. It inaugurated, however, the great scheme of rebuilding Paris, which, amongst other objects, was intended to prevent revolutions, by changing her streets into strategic boulevards, and to employ the working population. The autumn witnessed another princely progress. Everywhere the President was met by a desire that the Empire should be restored. At Nevers he was saluted as Napoleon III. At Bordeaux he declared that the empire was peace. On his return to Paris, on September 28, he was received with royal honours. The Prefect of the Seine repeated the wishes of the provinces. The senate, convoked on November 4, was asked to change the form of government, and the decree drawn up by it was to be submitted to the suffrages of the people. The establishment of the empire, in the person of Louis Napoleon, was voted by a larger majority than the *plébiscite* of the year before. On December 1 the crown was offered to Napoleon III. at the palace of St. Cloud, and on December 2 he made his solemn entry as Emperor into his capital.

The Empire.

BOOK V.

THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

CRIMEA.

THE first care of the new Emperor was to surround himself with the traditions of his family. He took the title of Napoleon III., proclaiming himself the successor of the son of Napoleon II., the unfortunate Duke of Reichstadt. He was supported by his uncle Jerome, formerly King of Westphalia, who had been made a marshal in 1848, and by Jerome's two children, Prince Napoleon, and Princess Mathilde, who had been married to a Russian, by name Demidoff. The sons of the marshals and generals of the First Empire crowded round the throne. The salons of the Tuileries were filled with merchants and financiers; but few men of letters availed themselves of the welcome which was freely offered them. A civil list was granted on a liberal scale. The collections of the Louvre, the manufactures of Sèvres and the Gobelins, were attached to the crown. On January 22 the Emperor announced his approaching marriage. The chosen bride was Mademoiselle de Montijo, of an illustrious Spanish family of high rank. The grace and dignity of the Empress Eugénie gave strength for eighteen years to the unstable dynasty. Her faults lay in too great prodigality of expense, and in too great devotion to the clerical party. Her virtues, conspicuous on the throne, have shone with brighter lustre in exile and bereavement.

The new Court.

The Empire was rapidly recognised by foreign Powers. Lord Palmerston, English Minister of Foreign Affairs, hastened to express his approval of the *coup d'état* without consulting the Queen or his colleagues. Rebuked for this breach of duty he resigned his office. Belgium and Naples were forward in their advances. Prussia would have renewed the struggle of 1815, but she found no one to assist her. Russia alone held back, and treated the new Emperor with a lack of courtesy which was afterwards bitterly revenged. Nothing in the condition of Europe seemed to forebode an approaching war. The moment seemed favourable to Russia to prosecute her long cherished designs against Turkey. She alone had not suffered in the revolutions of 1848. Austria was her vassal, Prussia on a footing of the closest intimacy; the Prime Minister of England, Lord Aberdeen, was the personal friend of the Emperor; France had not recovered from internal disorders. Nothing seemed less probable than an alliance between England and the nephew of Napoleon I. Prophecies pointed to the downfal of the Turkish power in Europe after a duration of four hundred years. The Emperor Nicholas described Turkey to the English ambassador at St. Petersburg as a sick man whose inheritance must soon be divided. Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were to be independent states under the protectorate of Russia. England was invited to occupy Egypt and Candia as her share of the spoil. State of Europe.

England did not give encouragement to the propositions of Russia; nor was the Emperor Nicholas more successful in his application to France. A dispute about the Holy Places at Jerusalem gave occasion to an open quarrel. By a firman of 1852 the Sultan had annexed to the Greek Church the pos- The Holy Places.

session of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, but had allowed the Latin Christians, who were protected by the Emperor Napoleon, to perform mass in the church. This the Greek Christians objected to, and the Emperor of Russia asserted that he had a right by treaty to a protectorate over all the Greek Christians in Turkey. He prepared a fleet and an army in the southern provinces, and sent Prince Menschikoff to Constantinople to announce his claim. Menschikoff broke into the divan in his riding coat and dusty boots. The Porte rejected his master's claim. To have admitted it would have allowed constant interference in the internal affairs of Turkey. The ambassador left the Bosphorus with threats of immediate vengeance.

The Sultan Abdul Medjid applied to the Western Powers for assistance. The Emperor Napoleon had many reasons for desiring war. It would give him prestige in Europe, it offered him an opportunity of humbling Russia, and of obtaining a revision of the Treaties of 1815, which he considered humiliating to France. The British Government felt that their interests in this question lay in the same direction. On June 14 the allied fleets of England and France anchored together in Besika Bay, at the entrance to the Dardanelles. Nicholas replied to the threat by marching 40,000 men across the Pruth into the Danubian principalities, which he proposed to hold as a material guarantee till the Porte should comply with his demands. In the meantime he prepared vigorously for war. A congress of the Great Powers held at Vienna attempted to avert the storm. Their efforts were useless. On October 4 Turkey declared war against Russia. The T---ks gained a first success on the Danube by the taking fat, and the defeat of the Russians at Oltenizza. s compensated for by the almost entire de-

Declaration of war.

struction of a Turkish fleet by a Russian squadron off Sinope in the Black Sea. The English lion was roused. Lord Aberdeen, who did not wish for war, was driven from office, and Lord Palmerston took his place. A joint ultimatum was presented to Russia with the condition of evacuating the principalities. On the Emperor's refusal, an alliance was made between France and England, and war declared in March 1854.

Austria and Prussia hesitated as to which side they should take. They agreed to support Russia in certain contingencies, but in fact preserved a benevolent neutrality. In the Baltic, the French captured Bomarsund, and an English fleet tried in vain to win over Sweden to the alliance, and to injure the impregnable fortress of Cronstadt. The decisive struggle took place in the south. A French army of 50,000 men, and an English force of 20,000 was sent to the Black Sea. Odessa was bombarded, and Varna burned, but the unwholesome swamps of the Dobrudscha decimated the troops. It was determined to effect a landing in the peninsula of the Crimea, the seat of the great Russian fortress of Sebastopol and of the Russian fleet. The battle of the Alma was won on September 20, mainly by the bravery of General Bosquet and his Zouaves, who stormed the heights. Sebastopol seemed to lie at the mercy of the allies, but the fortifications of the northern side were strong, and the harbour was defended by sunken ships. The French commander-in-chief, St. Arnaud, was dying of cholera. The plan of a *coup de main* was given up, and preparations were made for a long siege on the south side of the town. Reinforcements poured into the Peninsula from all parts of Russia. The allies received supplies by the harbours of Kamiesch and Balaclava. The battle of Inkerman took place on November 5, in which a vigorous attempt of the Russians to force the English

The Crimea.

position was defeated by the steadiness of the English guards and the timely assistance of the French. The winter set in with terrible severity. Encamped on the bare plateau, swept by icy winds, the troops suffered heavily from frost and sickness.

During the winter, diplomatic action was renewed at Vienna. Austria took up a position more friendly to the allies and strengthened her forces on the Russian frontier. The genius of Cavour persuaded the little kingdom of Sardinia to take part in the war. Her army, though small, was of material use, and by this action she secured the right of being consulted at a future period in a European congress. The Emperor Nicholas died on March 2, 1855, worn out with anxiety and disappointment. Although 250,000 Russians had perished in the war, his son felt bound to continue the conflict. Both sides received reinforcements. General Todleben strengthened the fortifications of Sebastopol. The bombardment continued without effect. General Canrobert was superseded by General Pelissier, who put more vigour into the operations. A general attack made on June 18, the anniversary of Waterloo, was repulsed with heavy loss. Pelissier's energy at last prevailed. In the middle of August the bombardment continued day and night with eight hundred guns. The Russians could no longer reply, and the storm was ordered for September 8. The French stormed Fort Malakoff with success. The English took the Redan, but were not able to hold it. After the capture of Fort Malakoff, Sebastopol was no longer tenable. Prince Gortschakoff blew up his fortifications, sank his ships, and evacuated the town. The siege had lasted eleven months.

Fall of Sebastopol.

The capture of Kars in Armenia by General Muravieff enabled the Emperor Alexander to make offer of peace. A congress was held at Paris, to which Austria, Prussia, and Sardinia, were admitted. On

of

March 30, 1856, the Peace of Paris was signed. Russia received back Sebastopol and the other places she had lost. On the other hand she surrendered Kars and some territory at the mouth of the Danube; she gave up the protectorate over the principalities, and over the Greek Christians in Turkey, who were placed under the care of the Great Powers. Russia undertook to create no arsenal in the Black Sea, and to reduce her fleet within the same limits as that of Turkey; the navigation of the Danube was declared free, and the integrity of the Porte guaranteed.

Napoleon III. was now at the height of his power, and occupied a commanding position in Europe. In the spring of 1855 he paid with the Empress a visit to the English Court, which was returned by the Queen and Prince Albert in the following autumn. The holding of an exhibition of industry like that held in London in 1851 seemed an augury of approaching peace. The birth of a son and heir, the unfortunate Prince Louis Napoleon, in March 1856, gave strength to the dynasty. He was baptised in Notre Dame with the dazzling ceremonial of the First Empire. The senate and legislative body showed a subservient complaisance, and passed whatever was required of them. But coincident with this apparent prosperity and splendour began a rage for speculation, which proved eventually the disgrace and ruin of the empire. Paris was to be rebuilt so as to become the pleasure house of the nations of the world. The work was entrusted to M. Haussmann, who was made Prefect of the Seine. Employment and maintenance were secured to many thousand workmen; but humble dwellings were swept away, rents rose to an extravagant height, and the happiness and security of the future were bartered for the enrichment of a crowd of hungry speculators.

Internal affairs.

CHAPTER II.

ITALY.

THE year 1857 passed away quietly. Napoleon, wishing to use his power for the revision of the Treaties of 1815, and full of plans for the liberation of Italy from the Austrian yoke, paid a visit to the Queen of England in August, and to the Emperor of Russia in September. He was also chosen as mediator in a dispute between the King of Prussia and the Canton of Neufchâtel which nearly led to war. The year 1858 opened with a terrible catastrophe: on January 14, at eight o'clock in the evening, just as the carriage containing the Emperor and Empress was approaching the opera-house, a terrible explosion was heard. In the street lay men, women, and horses, dead and wounded. A hundred and forty-one persons had been struck, some fatally; a fragment of iron had passed through the Emperor's hat. It was soon discovered that the disaster was due to the explosion of detonating barrels of a pear-shaped form, and that the perpetrator of the crime was an Italian, Felice Orsini. He had been employed with Prince Louis Napoleon and his elder brother in the Carbonari risings in Italy in 1831. He had been an active agent against the Austrians. He was embittered against the Emperor for his expedition to Rome, his apparent desertion of the Italian cause, and for his supposed sympathy with despotism. The plot had been prepared and hatched in London.

Orsini.

Agitation for the unity of Italy and its deliverance from the foreigner was no new project. At the Congress of Paris, Count Cavour, who had been Prime Minister of Italy since 1852, presented a memorial in which he declared that the peace of Europe

Cavour.

could not be secured unless the natural aspirations of the Italians were considered. He desired that the principle of Italian unity should be recognised; that Austria should endow Venetia with a liberal constitution; that foreign troops should be recalled from the Papal States; and that the bad government of Naples should be put an end to by intervention. With the greatest adroitness Cavour gained the Great Powers one by one to his side. The position of Austria was at this time one of great weakness. Prussia was strengthened by the accession of the Prince of Prussia to the regency. Public feeling in England deeply sympathised with the wrongs of Italy. Russia was anxious to effect a reconciliation with France, and was propitiated by the Sardinian Government. But the chief hope of Cavour lay in the Emperor of the French. He had in his youth been implicated in Italian conspiracies, and had given pledges which it was difficult for him to ignore. Italy was full of the memories of his uncle's glory. To release Italy from Austria's oppression would add lustre to his crown; and if the new Italy took the form of a confederation of provinces, he might hope to assume the post of protector.

It is probable, however, that he would not have been anxious to bestir himself, had not his resolution been quickened by the attempt of Orsini. One effect of this attempted assassination was to stir up a danger of a war between France and England. The indignation felt against the conspirators was naturally extended to those free countries in which they had found an asylum. Pressure was put upon Belgium and Switzerland to surrender political refugees, and some violent addresses of French colonels directed against England were (it was said by inadvertence) inserted in the *Moniteur*. The spirit of England was roused: Lord Palmerston was driven from office, because he had been supposed to have

Repression.

complied with a request of the Emperor for the alteration of the English law. In all parts of the country volunteer camps were formed to resist a possible invasion. The visit of Queen Victoria to Cherbourg, in August 1858, was scarcely able to allay these suspicions. The attempt of Orsini led to strong measures of repression. France was divided into five military districts, each of which was placed under the command of a marshal. Several journals were suppressed. A law of general safety was passed which gave the Government powers of summary jurisdictions over suspected persons. A number of arrests were made, and those who were condemned were transported to Africa.

War is declared.

The preparations for a war with Italy were continued. In July 1858 Cavour had an interview with the Emperor of the French at Plombières, in which he received a written guarantee of assistance on certain definite conditions. Cavour then hastened to secure the neutrality of Prussia. On January 1, 1859, at the official reception of ambassadors at the Tuileries, the Emperor said to the ambassador of Austria : 'I regret that our relations with your Government are not as good as they have been. Pray tell the Emperor that my personal feelings towards him are not changed.' The words ran through Europe like wild-fire. They derived an additional significance from the marriage, on January 30, of Prince Napoleon with the Princess Clotilde, daughter of the King of Sardinia, an arrangement which formed part of the Treaty of Plombières. On January 10 Victor Emmanuel said, in opening the Sardinian Chambers, that he could not be insensible to the cry of pain which proceeded from so many parts of Italy. The French and Italian press began to discuss the rights of nationalities and the revision of treaties. Austria began to arm. A state of siege was proclaimed in Venetia. Lombardy was filled with

troops. Strong efforts were made by England to keep the peace, and Lord Cowley was sent as an Embassy to Vienna. Cavour, on the other hand, declared that if the Emperor did not perform his promise he would retire to America, and make the engagements between them public. Austria knew that efforts for peace were to the advantage of her enemies, who had leisure for preparation while she was being exhausted by expense. On April 23 she sent an ultimatum to Turin, to threaten a declaration of war unless Sardinia disarmed within three days. Sardinia refused, and Napoleon declared that if Austria crossed the Ticino he should consider it a declaration of war against France. On April 29 the Ticino was crossed, and the war begun.

Count Giuylai, the Austrian commander-in-chief, instead of attacking Turin and occupying the passes of the Alps, contented himself with seizing the district of Lomellina, between the Ticino and the Sesia, and holding it as a pledge. The French army swarmed across the mountains. The Emperor commanded in person. The battle of Montebello was fought on May 20, that of Palestro at the end of the same month. Garibaldi, with an army fit for mountain warfare, occupied Como and threatened Milan. Giuylai was forced to recross the Ticino. On June 4 was fought the great battle of Magenta, in which the Austrians were entirely defeated. They retired behind the Mincio, within the defences of the famous quadrilateral formed by the four fortresses of Verona, Peschiera, Legnago, and Mantua. Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel entered Milan together in triumph. From this city the Emperor issued a proclamation calling on the Italians to unite themselves for the liberation of their country, and to range themselves under the standard of Victor Emmanuel. They were not slow to obey the call. The Duke of Modena, the

The campaign.

Duchess of Parma, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, left their estates and sought a refuge in Switzerland. Provisional governments were established in their place, and union with Sardinia declared. The States of the Church revolted one by one. In the crisis of danger the Emperor of Austria put himself at the head of his troops. The two Emperors met in conflict in the battle of Solferino on June 24. Both sides suffered severely, but the Austrians were defeated. A terrible storm saved them from pursuit and destruction.

The French were reinforced by the corps of Prince Napoleon, and a French fleet appeared before Venice. Europe awaited the continuance of the war. It was surprised by the news of an armistice, and by the signing of the preliminaries of peace by the two Emperors at Villafranca. Napoleon had failed in his expressed design to make Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic, but both sides had good reason to wish for peace. The Emperor of the French had done enough for glory: the siege of strong fortresses was less easy than a battle in the field, and it was not for the interests of his country that Italy should become too powerful. Austria was ready to accept reasonable terms. Both sides were uncertain of the attitude of Prussia. She might, in dread of a future occupation of the Rhine, take the part of Austria against France, or she might make use of the weakness of Austria to assert her power in Germany. The conditions signed at Villafranca were that a confederation should be formed of Italian States under the presidency of the Pope; that Lombardy, Peschiera, and Mantua should be ceded to the Emperor Napoleon, who should transfer them to Sardinia; that Venice should remain in the possession of Austria, and form part of the confederation, and that the Dukes of Tuscany and Modena should return to their dominions. The Pope

Peace of Villafranca.

was to reform his Government, and a general amnesty was to be secured. These preliminaries were consolidated into a definite treaty at Zürich; but the conditions contained in them were never fulfilled.

The Pope did not approve of the changes in Italy. He denounced those who had taken part in the revolution, and threatened them with ecclesiastical penalties. The French bishops echoed the complaints of their superiors, while the Emperor, in a pamphlet entitled the 'Pope and the Congress,' declared against the temporal power, and condemned it as a direct hindrance to the spiritual power. The Pope replied by calling the pamphlet a monument of hypocrisy, and an ignoble tissue of contradictions. These dissensions were not favourable to the meeting of a European congress, so earnestly desired by Napoleon III., but opposed by England as likely to lead to changes disastrous to the peace of Europe. The Emperor exerted himself to give assurances of peace. He sketched in the *Moniteur* a long programme of internal reforms. He negotiated, with the help of Richard Cobden and Michel Chevalier, a treaty of commerce with England, based on the principles of free trade. This was a new guarantee of friendship and united action between the two countries. In opening the session of the Chambers in March 1860, the Emperor, while admitting that the execution of the peace of Villafranca was impossible, announced the annexation of Nice and Savoy to France. This had been part of the agreement of Plombières. The two provinces voted by a large majority for annexation to France, and they were formed into the departments of Alpes-Maritimes, Savoie, and Haute-Savoie. Victor Emmanuel parted reluctantly with the cradle of his race, and Garibaldi tried in vain to rescue for Italy the town which gave him an Italian birthplace.

Annexation of Nice and Savoy.

Shortly after this, the new Italian kingdom received further additions. Ferdinand II., King of Naples, had died in May 1859, and was succeeded by his son, Francis II. In April 1860, disturbances broke out in Palermo and Messina. They were quickly suppressed; but on May 6, Garibaldi set sail for Genoa with 1,000 volunteers, with the connivance, but not the authority, of the Sardinian Government. He landed at Marsala in Sicily, and in less than a month succeeded in reducing the whole island. He crossed the straits with 5,000 men, marched through the peninsula, and entered Naples on September 7. He proposed to proceed to Rome, and to proclaim the Kingdom of Italy from the Quirinal. The Catholic world, with Napoleon at its head, bestirred itself in defence of the Pope. Victor Emmanuel was encouraged to occupy Umbria and the Marches, and to receive from Garibaldi the kingdom of Naples on condition of leaving the Pope in possession of his patrimony. General Lamoricière, at the head of the Papal troops, made a stand at Castelfidardo, but was defeated. The King of Sardinia sailed to Naples, where Garibaldi made over to him the country which he had conquered, and retired to his cottage at Caprera. The Neapolitan army was defeated; the fortress of Gaeta, to which the King of Naples had retired, was taken; and in February 1861, Victor Emmanuel assumed the title of King of Italy. Cavour died on June 6, worn out with labour, before he was able to see the full completion of his work.

Conquest of Naples.

In the same year troubles broke out in Syria, the fruit of the misgovernment of the Turkish empire, which no European influence had been able to remedy. At the end of May, the Druses of the Lebanon pectedly upon the Maronite Christians, and men and women, old and young. The Turks

ia.

did nothing to prevent the massacre, and it is said that Turkish troops assisted in it. In Damascus, 6,000 Christians were murdered, and the whole Christian population would have been destroyed but for the intervention of Abd-el-Kader, the former Emir of Algeria, who had transferred his residence from Broussa to Damascus. It was determined that Syria should be occupied jointly by the European Powers; but before this could be carried out, Fuad Pasha, sent by the Sultan, had restored order and punished the most guilty of the assassins. The foreign occupation lasted till June 1861. During these years, the internal affairs of France were of little importance. The Corps Législatif voted whatever it was asked to vote, the opposition consisted only of five members. Towards the end of 1860, some murmurs of impatience were heard, and they were satisfied by a decree of November 24, which gave the Chambers a greater liberty of public discussion.

CHAPTER III.

MEXICO.

IN the beginning of 1861, the opposition in the Chambers became more outspoken, and the disorder in the finances more apparent. Napoleon sought to dazzle the French people by splendid fêtes at home, and by a policy of ostentatious interference abroad. China and Cochin China. In eight years of power, he had defeated Russia and Austria, and liberated Italy. He now turned his attention to China, Cochin China, and Mexico. A treaty concluded by France and England with China in 1858, had allowed these Powers to maintain a permanent embassy at Pekin. In June 1859, the English squadron

which conveyed the ambassadors found the river Peiho barred, and tried in vain to force it. A joint expedition marched upon Pekin in August. The summer palace of the Emperor was pillaged and burnt, in retaliation for the murder of some French and English officers and interpreters. A treaty was signed in October which confirmed the previous engagements, and secured an adequate indemnity for the families of those who had been murdered. The Government of Cochin China had for some time past offended both France and Spain by the persecutions of Christians and the murder of missionaries. A joint expedition was determined upon, and Saigon was captured in February 1859. The deadly climate prevented for some time a further advance; but in February 1862, operations were resumed, and after a year's hard fighting, the Annamite Emperor made a treaty by which he surrendered these provinces to France, and opened three ports for European commerce. This expensive colony was for some time a source of trouble to the mother country.

Far more important than these events was the attempt to found a European empire by French influence in Mexico. Like the rest of the republics which rose on the ruins of the Spanish power in South America, Mexico had been torn asunder by endless dissensions. Iturbide had been chosen Emperor, overthrown, banished, and afterwards condemned to death, and executed. Texas and California had been surrendered to America. The country was divided between Clericals and Liberals, and quarrels with England, Spain, and France increased the misery of its condition. Juarez, the head of the Liberal party, ruled in Vera Cruz, Miramon, the representative of the Clericals, in Mexico. Juarez was supported by the United States, Miramon by Europe. Miramon held the capital, Juarez the source of

Mexico.

revenue. In December 1860, Miramon was completely defeated, and Juarez entered the capital. But his cruel measures against the Roman Catholics, and his wilful disregard of the interests of foreign Powers, made it necessary that these Powers should interfere. A treaty was concluded at London on October 31, 1861, between France, England, and Spain, agreeing to joint action between the three countries, for the exaction of an indemnity for their losses. The real objects of the three allies were at variance with each other. England desired what she professed, and wished to keep the other Powers in check; Spain hoped to chastise her former colony, and perhaps to set a Spanish prince upon the throne of Mexico; France desired to overthrow the republic, and to establish a monarchical government in its place. This was represented to Napoleon by Mexican exiles as an easy task. The expedition consisted of 6,000 Spaniards, 3,000 French, and 1,000 English. Juarez agreed to a conference, which was opened in the healthy town of Orizaba. There the divergence of view between the three allies was clearly seen. England and Spain were ready to recognise the republic, which rested on the wishes of the Mexican people. France would be contented with nothing but the establishment of an empire, for which a candidate had been already chosen in the person of the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor of Austria. In the beginning of May 1862, the English and Spaniards retired from the country, leaving the French to pursue their objects by themselves.

The French army, reinforced, marched into the country. The strong fortress of Puebla was attacked without success. In July, General Forey was sent out with a large force to take command of the expedition. The Emperor, in a public letter, sketched the object of the enterprise, which was to

Maximilian, Emperor.

establish a Latin empire in Central America, as a counterpoise to the United States, and a source of wealth to France and to Europe. After collecting supplies, and a siege train, General Forey was enabled to attack Puebla a second time. It surrendered on May 17, 1863, and in less than a month the French army entered the capital. A provisional junta was established, which voted that the future government of the country should be an hereditary constitutional monarchy, and that Maximilian of Austria should be invited to accept the crown. He negotiated for some time, but after an interview with the Emperor of the French, consented in April 1864. A financial contract was made with France, by which the French army was to remain in Mexico until a native army could be formed; and Mexico bound itself to pay large sums of money to France, which it was doubtful if the country would be able to afford. Maximilian, endowed with high gifts of mind and character, and his brilliant wife, Charlotte of Belgium, after receiving the papal blessing at Rome, sailed for Mexico, and entered the capital in June, amidst demonstrations of great enthusiasm. Juarez retired into the North. Generals and provinces joined the new Emperor, but the guerilla warfare still continued, and the republicans did not lose heart.

In the meantime the French Chambers began to show a greater independence. They refused to grant an annuity to General Montauban, the conqueror of Pekin; they expressed disapproval of the Emperor's policy in Italy and Mexico. The trial of the banker Mirès cast a doubt on the financial honesty of some of the highest functionaries of the Empire. Garibaldi made an attack on the Papal States, but was ...sed by the Italian Government, was wounded at ...nte, and taken prisoner. The Emperor made a ...n for settling the Roman question by leaving

Internal affairs.

Rome to the Pope with a considerable revenue, but this was rejected by Antonelli. The war between North and South in America on the question of slavery prevented the United States from interfering in the affairs of Mexico. The Emperor preserved a position of neutrality between the combatants, but showed a leaning of partisanship towards the South.

The general elections of 1863 were characterised by strong efforts on the part of the Liberals. The Government strained every nerve to secure the return of official candidates, but the deputies chosen by the capital all belonged to the opposition. Of these, Thiers was the most illustrious. The opposition in the Chambers now amounted to thirty-five, but its moral force was far greater than its numbers. A new ministry came into office, of which the most important members were Billault, who died shortly afterwards, Rouher, Duruy, who made a serious attempt to remodel the education of France, Baroche, and Béhic. In the autumn session, the first object of interest was the condition of Poland. Alexander II. had at first attempted to content that unfortunate country with reforms; but the demands of the Poles were unreasonable, and he determined to pursue a different line of conduct, and to assimilate Poland, if possible, to the rest of the empire. The law of conscription was enforced with especial severity. This, in the beginning of 1861, produced a revolution which was put down with great cruelty. The French Government, always inspired by a sentimental regard for Poland, made representations to Russia, which were supported with more or less earnestness by England and Austria. But the intervention was of no real advantage to the Poles, and was so far injurious to the prestige of France. The Emperor further announced to the new Chambers that he had issued

Poland.

invitations to the European Powers to attend a general congress, which should attempt a peaceful settlement of the burning questions of the day. England positively refused to join it, and the other Great Powers only assented on the condition that the limits of discussion were strictly defined. It is true that the next decade witnessed great European wars arising from these very questions, but it is not certain that a congress would have prevented them, whereas it might have kindled a European conflagration.

Another European difficulty had long been the terror of diplomatists. The duchies of Sleswig-Holstein had been joined by a personal union to the crown of Denmark, but on different grounds. Holstein had originally formed part of the German Empire, Sleswig was essentially Danish in population and language. It had been seen that when the royal line of Denmark came to an end, disputes would arise as to the succession to the duchies. A treaty signed in London in 1852 by the five Great Powers and Sweden, secured the succession to both duchies and the kingdom to the Duke of Sleswig-Holstein-Glücksburg. Russia renounced her right to the duchies, and the Duke of Augustenburg sold his to Denmark. The treaty was not recognised by the German Confederation. In 1863 the King of Denmark died. Count Bismarck, the minister of Prussia, in conjunction with Austria, immediately claimed Holstein as part of the German confederation, and Sleswig as having been always united with it. Denmark resisted the occupation of Sleswig; a war broke out, in which the Danes were defeated. England, whose sympathies were powerfully roused for Denmark, in conjunction with Russia and Sweden proposed that the question should be submitted to a congress, but France refused to join it. She alleged her sympathies with

Sleswig-Holstein.

Germany, and her fear of being credited with designs against the Rhine. The war continued, and Denmark was obliged to yield. The two victors came very near to quarrelling over the division of the spoil, but by the Convention of Gastein in 1865, Holstein was occupied by Austria, Sleswig by Prussia. The conduct of France was violently attacked by the opposition, and it is probable that the reserve of 30,000 men in Mexico had some influence upon her neutrality.

The autumn of 1863 marks the opening of a new era of parliamentary activity. Thiers attacked the finance of the Empire with effective violence. He showed how every year the expenses exceeded the receipts. He was answered that the increased prosperity of France was well worth the cost. An Imperial Left party was formed in the Chambers devoted to the Emperor, but free to utilise his policy. The French clergy became less well affected to the Government; they resented the Emperor's sympathies with Italian liberty, they demanded the regulation of public teaching in France. The Emperor tried to steer between the two extremes. He suppressed the *Univers*, a journal of Ultramontane views, and he forbade Renan to teach advanced theology in the Collège de France. A similar spirit of compromise was seen in the Convention signed with Italy on September 15, 1864. The Italian Government had continually demanded the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome, but the French Government had returned no answer. By the Convention it was arranged that the French troops should be withdrawn from Rome within the year; that during that time a papal army should be formed for the garrisoning of the city; and that the Italian Government should undertake not to attack the small territory still left to the Church, or to suffer others to do so. The capital of Italy was to be

Rome.

removed from Turin to Florence. This Convention secured the alliance between France and Italy, but was by no means pleasing to the Pope.

The Emperor's address at the opening of the Chambers in February 1865 gave a rose-coloured view of Imperial policy. The French army, he said, had triumphed in all four quarters of the globe, his soldiers would return from Rome and Mexico with new laurels. Notwithstanding the severe criticism to which the address was subject, only fifteen deputies were found to vote against it. The mainspring of the opposition was Thiers. In knowledge, eloquence, and clearness of persuasive power he stood far above the rest of his party. His speeches were especially remarkable for the lucidity with which they exposed the sophisms of Imperial finance. In this year Napoleon III. undertook a journey to Algeria, to study the condition of the country with his own eyes. The visit lasted six weeks, but the plans which he then formed for the development of the colony were impeded by the great political events which followed.

Algeria.

In the meantime the affairs of Mexico were becoming a matter of serious embarrassment to France. Maximilian had accepted the crown as the representative of the Clerical party. He attempted to hold the balance even between them and the Liberals, but he found the demands of the Pope exorbitant and impossible to execute. The war between republicans and imperialists raged with fury in every province of that enormous country. The French army was powerless to hold it, and Maximilian was induced to order that every insurgent taken with arms in his hands should be shot within twenty-four hours. This decree, which was at variance with Maximilian's kindly nature, was afterwards bitterly avenged. The new Mexican loan advertised in

The Empire in Mexico.

France with all the appliances of Government was quickly subscribed for; but little more than half the money reached Maximilian's treasury, and for this he had to pay an interest of twelve per cent. Further, the struggle between North and South in America was now at an end. The Americans had always looked on the new empire with suspicion, and had secretly sent arms and money to Juarez. They begged Napoleon to withdraw his troops, adding that a failure to do so would be deeply resented. In January 1866 a message was sent to Maximilian to say that the Emperor had decided on the withdrawal of his troops from Mexico. The operation was to begin in the following November, and to be completed in the same month of the ensuing year. The Empress Charlotte went to Europe to remind the Emperor of his broken promise, and to claim the fulfilment of a secret article of the Treaty of Miramar, by which the French troops were to remain in Mexico till the end of 1868. Her tears and entreaties were in vain. Rejected from St. Cloud she threw herself at the feet of the Pope, who was powerless to help her. She went from his presence stricken with hopeless insanity. In the autumn the holders of Mexican bonds were informed that their interest could not be paid.

The great event of the year 1866 was the war between Prussia and Austria, which ended in the battle of Sadowa. The cause is to be sought in the long rivalry of these two nations for supremacy in Germany, the conflict of the modern with the mediæval spirit, of Protestantism with Catholicism. Count Bismarck had carefully prepared the way for the catastrophe. He had brought the Prussian army to a high pitch of perfection. In an interview with the Emperor at Biarritz, he had secured his neutrality by the promise of Venetia to Italy, and perhaps of Belgium and the Rhine

Sadowa.

provinces to France. He held out to Italy the bait of Venetia, which Austria had just refused to sell for a sum of money. The spring of 1866 was occupied by the efforts of the neutral powers to preserve the peace. When this became impossible, a letter addressed by the Emperor to M. Drouyn de l'Huys, Minister of Foreign Affairs, gave his view of the situation. He sketched out what should have been the language of the representatives of France if the proposed conference of European Powers had been held. He expressed a limited sympathy with the aspirations of Prussia and Italy, and an assurance that the interests of France would not be affected by the struggle. The result of the war was a great surprise. Within a week from the opening of the campaign, Austria was entirely defeated. By the Treaty of Prague, a new confederation was formed in North Germany, under the presidency of Prussia. Venetia was ceded by Austria to France, who made it over to Italy. The Italians, as allies of Prussia, had attacked the Austrians at Custozza, and been completely repulsed.

Results of the war to France.

The cession of Venetia was celebrated by illuminations at Paris, but the results of the war were in reality disastrous to France. The Emperor covered his humiliation by a manifesto addressed to Europe, but it is clear that from this time the decadence of his power is to be dated. He had been surprised at the rapid termination of the struggle. He had no army at hand to enable him to seize Belgium or the Rhine, and so he had gained none of the compensation held out to him by Count Bismarck. The Empire of Mexico, his own creation, had entirely failed, and had been deserted by him in its hour of need. Italy owed her extension to the Adriatic, not to France but to Prussia, and was now growing into an independent power, able to dispense with French assistance. Above

all, there had arisen on the frontiers of France a new nation, consolidated with the consciousness of unity, and strong enough to defend the Rhine from the lust of hereditary aggression. A new military power had declared itself, which might at some time endanger even the existence of France. Foreseeing the inevitable struggle the Emperor devoted himself to the drill and the equipment of the troops which poured in from Mexico and Rome. The crisis of action arrived before he could complete the work.

BOOK VI.

THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

LUXEMBURG.

THE beginning of the year was marked by a change in the Constitution. It was announced in a letter from the Emperor to M. Rouher, dated January 19, 1867. Since 1860, the Chambers had possessed the right of discussing the address to the throne, which gave every member an opportunity of criticising the action of the Government. This discussion now made room for a system of interpellations, that is, questions addressed to the ministers on every point of public policy. The Emperor called this change the crowning of the edifice, and considered it as a concession to constitutional government. Some argued that it gave less freedom than the discussion on the address, because no interpellation could be made, unless it had been ap- January 19.

proved of by the Senate and the Chamber. The reform was ascribed to the advice of M. Émile Ollivier, who was not yet called to the post of minister, but who had great influence at the Tuileries. The law of the Press was altered, the punishment of arrest was abolished, and a large money fine substituted in its place. This was also interpreted in different ways. These changes were accompanied by a change of ministry, which did not, however, affect the position of M. Rouher. Three interpellations were made during this session in virtue of the new provision. The first found fault with the Government for tampering with the Post Office; the second called into question the legality of the constitutional changes; the third, made by Thiers, arraigned the foreign policy of the Government, and complained that by the unity of Germany, France had lost her rank among the powers of Europe. The Emperor, in his speech at the opening of the Chambers, had claimed the agglomeration of kingdoms into larger units, as part of the development of Europe foreseen by his uncle Napoleon I. Rouher represented Germany as divided into three separate State-systems, but it soon became evident that the connection between the Northern and Southern States was intimate and effective.

A comparatively trivial circumstance came very near to causing a war between France and Prussia. The King of Holland had been since 1814 Grand Duke of Luxemburg, and in this capacity a member of the German confederation. The town was garrisoned partly by Dutch and partly by Prussian soldiers. When the German federation was dissolved in 1866, the King demanded the withdrawal of the Prussian soldiers. The Prussians did not wish to include the King of Holland in the new confederation, or to surrender the fortress. The King in his embarrassment offered to sell Luxemburg to France, and negotiations to that effect

Luxemburg.

had made some progress. The news of the intended sale was received with an outcry from Germany. Not a foot of German soil should be surrendered to France. Bismarck put himself at the head of the national feeling. Both sides armed, and the danger of a conflict became imminent. The Powers who had signed the Treaty of 1839, which gave part of Luxemburg to Belgium and part to Holland, determined to hold a conference in London. In five days it concluded its work. The King of Holland remained Grand Duke of Luxemburg, but its fortified towns were to be demolished, and the neutrality of the little State was placed under the collective guarantee of the Powers who signed the Treaty.

A greater blow than this to the prestige of the Empire was the disastrous end of the expedition to Mexico. On hearing of the intended recall of the French army, the Emperor Maximilian cried out that he had been deceived. The Empress Charlotte, as has been before narrated, restrained him from abdication, and went to Paris and Rome in the vain hope of obtaining assistance from the Emperor and the Pope. Exhausted by her calamities, or, as some say, poisoned by treachery, she was attacked by madness on leaving the Pope's presence, and she has never since recovered. Napoleon urged Maximilian to abdicate and to return to Europe, but he determined to retain his throne. A conference of ministers held in the beginning of 1867 strengthened him in this resolve. The United States increased the pressure of their demands, and the French army retired. The last French troops left Vera Cruz on March 11. Maximilian had in the meantime moved forward to Queretaro, where he was besieged by a Republican army. After a resistance of seventy days the town fell by treachery. Maximilian underwent the mockery of a trial, in spite of the protest of European

Mexico.

Powers, was shot, with Generals Miramon and Meija, on June 19. Within a month President Juarez made his entry into Mexico.

The news of Maximilian's death reached Paris in the midst of festivity. A great exhibition of all nations, on a larger scale than had ever been seen before, had attracted countless visitors to Paris. The Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Austria, had been entertained at the Tuileries. The Emperor and the Empress paid a return visit to the Austrian Court at Salzburg. The autumn was signalised by an attack of Garibaldi upon Rome. Escaping from his island home at Caprera, where he had been confined after a first attempt, he collected a new band of volunteers. Rome was reinforced by an army of Catholics of all nations, and by a French legion commanded by French officers. The Convention of September 15 was thus virtually violated. As the Garibaldian troops threatened Rome, the Emperor after many vacillations sent a French expedition to oppose them. The two armies met at Mentana on November 3. The Garibaldians were defeated, but the loss was great on both sides. The Italians considered that all obligation of gratitude for past favours was removed, and the French felt that little trust was to be placed in promises of liberty.

Mentana.

CHAPTER II.

ÉMILE OLLIVIER.

THE Session of 1868 was opened by a speech of the Emperor on November 18, 1867. He declared his desire to maintain the peace of Europe; he said that he regarded recent territorial changes as ished facts; that with regard to the affairs of Italy

he intended to stand by the Convention of 1864; and that he hoped to complete the improvement of the Constitution which had been begun on January 19. He ended by giving notice of a measure for the reorganisation of the army. This last was the most important business of the session. The law of 1832, which was at present in force, fixed the term of service to seven years, and allowed any one who had been drawn as a conscript to pay for a substitute. This had led to a traffic in human flesh, and was superseded in 1855 by a law which pledged the State to find as a substitute some veteran who had completed his term of service. The money was to be paid into the public treasury. The new law re-established the conditions of 1832, but nine years of service was substituted for seven; and besides this a national mobilised guard was established, composed of those who were exempted from serving in the army on account of youth or other causes. It was calculated that the active army would amount to 400,000 men, the reserve and the national guard, each of them to as many more. The new law was received with discontent in the provinces. At Nantes, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Dijon, it met with open opposition. It was said that so large an army could not be required for purposes of defence. It was clear that Napoleon felt that the foundations of his popularity were shaken, and that he must prepare for a critical struggle with the new Power of North Germany.

Signs were not wanting that the power of the Second Empire was on the wane. Napoleon had failed more than once in his foreign policy. The annexation of Savoy and Nice, the fruitless intervention on behalf of Poland, the failure of the Mexican Empire, the abortive efforts to summon a European congress, his equivocal position in Italy between the Pope and the Italian Kingdom, the contradiction at home

The 'Lanterne.'

between tyranny and freedom, his suspected designs upon Belgium and the Rhine, all conspired to shake the position which he had held seven years before. A new difficulty arose in the licence of the Press. The Imperial papers spoke loudly of the strength of France, and her readiness to fight; the Opposition redoubled its efforts to overthrow the Empire. Most prominent among the papers which denounced the inconsistency and immorality of the Government was the *Lanterne*, edited by Henri de Rochefort. The sale reached 100,000 copies. The author was attacked and fled the kingdom. His paper was smuggled in thousands over the frontier. The paper was very scurrilous, but it was popular, and won the ear of the people by its unbridled licence. Still the Emperor trembled, and saw in the fall of Queen Isabella of Spain a prelude to his own.

The Session of 1869 passed without events of importance. New elections for the Assembly were to be held in May. The Government and the Opposition strained every nerve for victory. The results were disastrous for the Government. The official candidates throughout France won only by a small majority. In the large towns, Paris, Lyons, and Marseilles, the Imperialists were beaten. Among the more prominent opponents of the Emperor elected were Jules Ferry, Gambetta, and Henri de Rochefort. The new Chambers met in June for the purpose of examining the returns of the members, or, as the French call it, the verifying of the powers. They showed so strong a determination for liberal reforms that the Emperor was obliged to give way. Rouher was nominated President of the Senate. A change of ministry took place, and alterations were made in the Constitution. The legislative body shared with the Emperor the initiation of laws, the principle of ministerial authority was introduced, greater control

Elections.

was given over the Budget, and the Opposition was enabled to express its views with greater freedom.

The regular session opened at the end of November. Napoleon said in his speech, 'France wishes for liberty with order. For order I am responsible. Help me, gentlemen, to save liberty.' The strength of the Opposition soon became apparent. In the first days of December a body of 116 was formed who demanded the loyal application of parliamentary government. The Emperor determined to resist these influences no longer. He finally parted with his old advisers, and after much secret deliberation, on January 2, 1870, he called upon Émile Ollivier to form a Cabinet. Ollivier was young, born of a Republican family which had suffered in the cause of liberty, but he was shallow and enthusiastic, and had not grasped the difficulty of the task he was undertaking. His desire was to reconcile the Empire with liberty; and to secure under the Government of Napoleon IV. the cause for which his father had been imprisoned on December 2. The first acts of the new Government were to dismiss M. Haussmann, Prefect of the Department of the Seine, who had rebuilt Paris with reckless extravagance, and to remove all restrictions on the sale of French and foreign newspapers. In his opening speech M. Ollivier declared that no Government had yet undertaken a nobler task. He was followed by Gambetta, who announced an irreconcilable difference between his party and the Empire: 'You,' he said to Ollivier, 'are a bridge, and over that bridge we will not pass.'

Émile Ollivier.

The new departure of the Imperial policy was signalised by sinister omens. The new ministry had come into existence almost unnoticed, while Paris was excited by a terrible murder, in which a lad of 18 had massacred a whole family with the object of

Pierre Bonaparte.

gaining their property. This was followed by a crime which shook the throne of the Emperor, as the throne of Louis Philippe had been shaken by the murder of the Duchess of Choiseul-Praslin. Two young men, sent to convey a challenge to Prince Pierre Bonaparte, a cousin of the Emperor's, had been fired at by him, and one of them, Victor Noir, had been killed. The funeral was accompanied by dense crowds, prepared if necessary for armed attack. The Prince was acquitted on the charge of murder, as there was evidence of strong provocation, but he was condemned to pay a heavy fine.

Plébiscite.

The Constitution of 1852 was destined to undergo yet another revision. In March, the Emperor wrote to his first minister to suggest some further alterations in a liberal sense, and to recommend that the changes of the original instrument should be finally confirmed by the vote of the people. The chief points of the new Constitution were that the legislative power was divided between the Emperor, the Senate, and the Assembly, each having the power of initiation. The ministers were made responsible, and could be impeached by the Chambers. The members of the Senate, the president and vice-president, were to be nominated by the Emperor; the Assembly was to choose its own president. These articles were passed without serious discussion. The nation was then asked to vote 'yes' or 'no' to the following proposition: 'The people approves of the liberal reforms made in the Constitution since 1860 by the Emperor with the consent of the great bodies of the State, and ratifies the *Senatus consultum* of April 20, 1870.' Napoleon issued a decree, in which he asked the people to give him a new proof of confidence by an affirmative vote. In this way they would exorcise the threats of the Revolution, place liberty on a solid basis, and render more easy in the future the transmission of

the crown to his son. There can be little doubt that the Emperor was sincere in wishing to leave to his son the comparatively easy burden of a limited monarchy. The result of the votes did not disappoint his expectations. Of nine millions who voted, seven millions and a half replied 'yes,' and a million and a half 'no.' Those who disapproved of the Empire did not wish to condemn the liberal reforms.

CHAPTER III.

SÉDAN.

AT the very moment when the Emperor felt his power most secure, events occurred which resulted in his entire overthrow. The crown of Spain, vacant by the deposition of Queen Isabella, was offered by General Prim to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. He was a young man in the Prussian army, related to the King of Prussia, and distantly connected with the Napoleon family. Out of courtesy, he asked leave from the head of his house to accept the proffered crown. Leave was given, and the French saw in his elevation an aggrandisement to Prussia, and a slight to themselves. The ill-feeling which had long been smouldering against the North German League now burst into a flame. The French war party seized their opportunity to bring on a conflict between the two nations. Prince Leopold, seeing the impending danger, withdrew his candidature of his own accord. Ollivier declared that peace was certain. The war party, disappointed at the turn affairs had taken, urged that a promise should be exacted from King William that he would not again consent to a similar candidature. This was regarded as an insult, and refused. In the middle

The Crown of Spain.

of July, the King declined to receive the visit of the French ambassador. Both sides began to prepare for war. Ollivier, in a phrase which was long remembered, said that he entered into it with a light heart.

War against Prussia was declared on July 19. The Emperor was not strongly in favour of the step; Ollivier was at first opposed to it; but they were dragged into it by the Duc de Grammont, who represented the probable neutrality of the South German States, and Marshal Lebœuf, who declared the French army to be thoroughly prepared for the conflict. On July 28, Napoleon III. published a proclamation to the French people, left the Empress as Regent in his absence, and established his head-quarters at Metz, taking with him the young Prince Imperial. As far as can be known, it was the plan of the Emperor to collect 100,000 men at Strasburg, and 150,000 at Metz, under the name of the army of the Rhine, and to invade the territory of Baden. Marshal Canrobert, placed at Châlons with 50,000 men, was to protect the frontiers of France. These plans could not be carried out. The French army was so badly prepared, that it was not able to advance upon foreign territory, and the German army began to invade France within a fortnight from the first order for its mobilisation. The Prussian army was divided into three corps. The first under General Steinmetz consisted of 60,000 men, the second under Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia, of 206,000, and the third under the Crown Prince of Prussia, of 180,000. This last included the contingent of Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg, which, contrary to the expectation of the French, had joined themselves with the Northern League.

The campaign opens.

Metz.

The war began by the taking of the open town of Saarbrück by the French on August 2. They held it for two days. This was followed on

August 4 by the surprise of General Douay at Weissemburg and the disastrous defeat of MacMahon at Wörth on August 6. On the same day Steinmetz recovered Saarbrück and defeated Frossard at Spicheren and Forbach. The French frontier was forced at two points. MacMahon retired to Metz, Frossard to Nancy. The German armies continued to advance. Lunéville and Nancy were captured, Bitsch and Phalsbourg blockaded. In Paris the greatest consternation prevailed. The Empress came from St. Cloud; the Senate and the Chambers were summoned. Marshal Bazaine, whose military reputation stood very high, was sent to replace Lebœuf. Bazaine established his head-quarters at Metz; MacMahon retreated towards Châlons. If these two armies could be joined, a body of 300,000 men would be opposed to the Prussians. Moltke, the head of the Prussian staff, determined to prevent this junction. He drove an iron wedge between the two armies, and, defeating Bazaine after a terrible struggle, in the battles of Vionville and Gravelotte, shut him up within the lines at Metz. The Crown Prince of Saxony, at the head of a new army, followed rapidly in the track of MacMahon, who moved from Châlons upon Rheims. Prince Frederick Charles conducted the investment of Metz; the Crown Prince of Prussia was ordered to march directly upon Paris.

In the meantime the Government of the capital dreaded the return of the Emperor. It would produce a revolution. He would never enter the Tuileries alive. MacMahon, in obedience to stringent commands, diverted his march northwards, so as to effect a junction with Bazaine. As soon as this was known in the German head-quarters, the Crown Prince of Prussia started in pursuit. MacMahon moved but slowly. He reached the neighbourhood of Sédan, and he tried to find a favourable point to force the investing army of Prince Frederick

Sédan.

Charles. By the consummate art of Moltke the design was frustrated, and the army of MacMahon was gradually surrounded by an iron ring, which it was impossible to break. The battle raged on September 1. MacMahon was wounded, and gave up his command to General Wimpfen, who had just arrived from Algeria. The Emperor exposed himself to fire on the field of battle. The German troops concentrated their investment, and bullets began to fall into the town. At six o'clock a white flag was hoisted on the church tower, and the Emperor sent a letter to the King of Prussia which said, 'Not having been able to die at the head of my troops I can only resign my sword into the hands of your Majesty.' The conditions of capitulation were signed the next morning. The French army was disarmed, and made prisoner. The Emperor, after an interview with Bismarck and the King, was allowed to retire to the palace of Wilhelmshöhe, which had once been the abode of his uncle Jerome.

BOOK VII.

THE REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER I.

THE NATIONAL DEFENCE.

THE news of the disaster of Sédan reached Paris on September 3. The ministers held a council, and promised to provide for the safety of the country. The Senate was still true to the names of the eror and the Prince Imperial; but the deposition of

September 4.

the dynasty proposed in the Assembly was enforced by the insistence of the surging crowd. Before the proper formalities could be gone through, Gambetta declared the deposition of the Emperor in the legislative body, and proclaimed the Republic, with a provisional Government at the Hôtel de Ville. The Empress escaped with some difficulty to join her son in England. The new ministry contained the names of Jules Favre, Jules Simon, and Gambetta. Lyons and Bordeaux followed the example of Paris. Strasburg was being besieged; the army of Metz was still available. The Government of the National Defence undertook its duty with the energy of despair. The fortifications were armed; the railways which encircled Paris became a second line of ramparts; the inhabitants prepared to die in the ruins of their houses. Measures were taken for the election of a Constituent Assembly. Crémieux was sent to Tours as the representative of the Government.

The new Republic was recognised first by America, and then by the other European Powers. Thiers, who did not form part of the Government, travelled from court to court, to rouse the sympathies of Europe in favour of France. Jules Favre sought an interview with Bismarck at Ferrières, but he could not agree upon the terms, either of an armistice or of a peace. He adopted as his fundamental principle 'not an inch of our territory nor a stone of our fortresses.' It was not likely that the Germans, after their startling victories, could agree to such terms. In the meantime the third and fourth armies marched upon Paris by different routes. On September 20 the King established his head-quarters in the Palace of Versailles. The key of the country which lay between Versailles and Paris was the plateau of Châtillon, which commanded the valley of the Seine. This was occupied by the Prussians, after an engagement

Paris invested.

on September 19, and from that time the investment of Paris began. Until January 31, 1871, the city had no communication with the external world, except by balloons and carrier pigeons. Worse than the cold, the hunger, and the fire which ensued, was the uncertainty about the fate of the rest of France. They did not know that the thin line which encircled them was not considered safe by Moltke till after January 19.

Whilst Paris was invested, the rest of France was overcome by German troops, or occupied with more or less serious efforts of self-defence. Strasburg, after withstanding a long severe siege, capitulated on September 28. To the North, the Prussian troops pressed as far as Vernon on the Seine, impeded but not checked by bodies of irregular troops. The main nucleus of defence was on the Loire. In that direction the French had taken Orleans after some resistance; but by the arrival of Gambetta, who had escaped from Paris in a balloon, a new spirit was breathed into the operations. He was already Minister of the Interior, but assumed the functions of Minister of War. By incredible energy he organised a considerable army out of the poor materials at hand. He accepted the aid of Garibaldi, who had come to offer his sword to the French Republic in the extremity of her disasters. The army of the Loire was to co-operate with the capital. General Aurelles de Paladines was to break through the German forces and to meet a simultaneous sortie from Paris. They were to join with the army of the Rhine shut up under Bazaine in Metz. The siege of Paris was to be raised, and France liberated from the enemy. At the end of October these hopes were dashed by a crushing blow. The army of Bazaine capitulated: 120,000 men laid down their arms without fighting, and the virgin fortress surrendered to the enemy.

Gambetta.

At the same time news was brought to Paris that Thiers had persuaded the neutral powers, England, Russia, Austria, and Italy, to urge Prussia to consent to an armistice, during which a National Assembly might be convoked. Bismarck refused to allow the revictualling of Paris, and the French refused to accept an armistice in which this condition was not included. On October 31, a body of insurgents, headed by Flourens and Blanqui, who were dissatisfied with the inertness of the defence, seized the Hôtel de Ville, and assumed the powers of Government. This was a foretaste of the Commune which broke out six months later. The Government established its authority by help of the National Guard, and the population of Paris expressed their confidence in it by a large majority of votes. General Trochu now decided to give a military organisation to the garrison of Paris. The French, both inside and outside the city, were confident of success. They believed that by a continued movement they could break through the encircling girdle of their foes. October 31.

The South of France was alone free from the struggle, but there internal dissensions took its place. In the North fortress after fortress fell, and their garrisons were sent as prisoners to Germany. Soissons, Verdun, Thionville, Phalsbourg, Montmédy were taken, Bitsch alone had the honour of resisting till the peace. Belfort, one of the gates of the Jura, offered a vigorous and successful resistance. Dijon was occupied at the end of October. The hardest fighting was in the valley of the Loire. After a hard-fought battle at Coulmiers, Aurelles de Paladine re-occupied Orléans. The news caused great joy in Paris, and led to the sortie of Champigny, in which the French gained only a temporary advantage. On the same day all hopes of success in this direction were broken by the defeat of The war in the provinces.

Beaune-la-Rolande, one of the hardest-fought battles of the war. Soon after this, on December 4, the Germans again occupied Orléans. The seat of the delegated Government was moved from Tours to Bordeaux. The army of the Loire broke up into two parts, one under Bourbaki, the other under Chanzy. The army of Chanzy made its way through the biting cold of an exceptionally hard winter to Le Mans, which was taken by the Germans on January 12. Bourbaki, marching towards the Jura, eventually reached Switzerland, where his army, starving and half clad, was disarmed and hospitably entertained. General Faidherbe commanded in the valley of the Somme. Amiens fell into the hands of the Germans after a hard struggle; then Rouen yielded, then Dieppe. The hope of assistance from the North led to a second sortie at Le Bourget which proved as useless as the first. At the change of the year the French distinguished themselves in the battles of Hallue and Bapaume. Faidherbe's army was finally routed in the battle of St. Quentin.

Paris had now endured four months of siege. The population of that luxurious city had learned to exist on loathsome bread, on cats, rats, and horses. Since the beginning of the year the city had been bombarded. No missiles crossed the Seine, but about 380 Parisians were killed, and many public buildings were injured. The Government was distracted by the restless efforts of the Commune. Trochu determined on a last supreme effort. It was fixed for January 19, the day after the King of Prussia had been solemnly saluted as Emperor of Germany in the great gallery of Versailles. A hundred thousand men made a sortie in the direction of St. Cloud. After seven hours' ·hting they were compelled to retire with a loss of 7,000 d and wounded. From that moment Moltke knew that

Submission.

the fate of Paris was sealed, and Trochu realised the necessity of capitulation.

After some negotiations between Jules Favre and Bismarck, a convention was signed on the following terms. There was to be an armistice for three weeks, a line of demarcation was drawn to divide the parts of France in the possession of the Germans from those in possession of the French. Fighting was to cease except in the neighbourhood of Belfort. Every opportunity was to be given for the free election of an Assembly, which was to meet at Bordeaux. All the forts round Paris were to be delivered to the Prussians, the French troops were to be considered prisoners, and disarmed, except 12,000 men who were left for the defence of Paris. Paris was to pay a contribution of 200,000,000 francs within fourteen days. Every facility was given for revictualling the town. The Convention was carried out with strict punctuality. Gambetta at Bordeaux attempted to exclude from the Assembly all who had ever served the fallen dynasty. This was prevented by Jules Simon and Arago, and Bismarck lent his influence in the same direction. The Parisians, instead of meeting their fate with dignity, did not cease to heap scorn and abuse on those whom they accused of betraying them. Convention.

The Assembly met at Bordeaux on February 12. It chose M. Grévy as President. The provisional Government surrendered their powers into its hands, and a new government was formed, with Thiers at its head. Favre, Simon, and Dufaure were also members of it. Shortly afterwards the fortress of Belfort fell, after a gallant defence, and the Assembly began to take serious measures for effecting an honourable peace; a committee of 15 was appointed to negotiate, and the sittings were suspended in the meantime. The chief points in discussion were the extent of Peace.

territory to be surrendered, the amount of money to be paid, and the entry of the German troops into Paris. The Germans demanded the cession of Alsace and half Lorraine, with the fortress of Metz. After a hard struggle, Belfort was given back to the French; the indemnity was fixed at five milliards of francs, to be paid within three years. Paris was to be only partially occupied. The preliminaries of peace were accepted by the Assembly by a large majority, and the seven months' war was at an end. The Germans lost nearly 120,000 men in killed and wounded, and nearly 400,000 French prisoners remained on German soil.

CHAPTER II.

THE COMMUNE.

The Chamber dissolved on March 10, and agreed to meet again after ten days' vacation at Versailles. Some guns, however, which stood on the ramparts of Paris, or in the Parc Monceaux, had been carried off by the populace for fear they should fall into the hands of the Prussians. They were placed on high ground, in the most turbulent quarter of the city, on the Buttes de Montmartre. In the early morning of the 18th the Government took measures to recover them; but the enterprise was clumsily mismanaged, the troops joined the people, and Generals Lecomte and Clement Thomas, who commanded the operation, were seized and barbarously murdered. Before noon the insurrection infected a large portion of the troops. The Government felt that they could not risk a battle, and retired to Versailles. Paris was left in the hands of a central com-

March 18.

mittee, elected by the batallions of the Parisian National Guard.

This committee proceeded to constitute the Government of the Commune, that is, of the municipality of Paris. It is difficult to say what was its object. It was supported by a number of revolutionists and democrats of different views. Its only ostensible object was to establish throughout France a system of decentralisation. The Government of Versailles was obliged to capture Paris. At first they had but few troops, but the number was increased by the arrival of prisoners from Germany. Paris was given up to every kind of violence; the Column of the Place Vendôme was pulled down, the house of M. Thiers destroyed. After six weeks the troops were able to enter Paris. The Communists surrendered after a terrible struggle, in which the Archbishop of Paris was killed, and the Tuileries, the Hôtel de Ville, the Palace of Justice, and other public buildings were burnt down with the help of petroleum. A terrible vengeance was taken upon the vanquished.

The Commune.

CHAPTER III.

M. THIERS.

THE treaty of Frankfort was signed and ratified in May. The laws of exile were abolished, the princes of the House of Orleans were allowed to return to France. Although the country had suffered so heavily in war, a remarkable fact shows the wealth she still possessed. M. Thiers called for a loan of two milliards for the liberation of the territory. Twice that

Liberation of territory.

amount was subscribed in France within six hours, and more than was asked for in Paris alone. By the early payment of the indemnity, the French territory was relieved of German troops before the time originally fixed. The Assembly was as yet afraid to return to Paris.

In the meantime differences began to arise between the President and the Assembly, chiefly on economical subjects. Thiers was an enemy of the income tax and of free trade. Defeated on this last point, he gave in his resignation; the Chamber refused to accept it, and he continued at his post. Many regarded the present Republic as nothing more than a provisional arrangement. Thiers had said that it was the form of government which divided France the least. Legitimists, Orleanists, Napoleonists, Red Republicans, all hoped that out of the confusion their own form of Government might have the best chance of permanent settlement.

Divisions.

Thiers did his best to support the Conservative Republic, but his policy was violently assailed by the Monarchists on the right of the Chamber, and by the party of Gambetta on the left. Gambetta clamoured for the dissolution of the Chamber, and on the other hand, a committee of thirty was appointed to lay down the lines of a permanent Constitution. The services of Thiers in paying the indemnity, liberating the territory, and establishing a national army, were forgotten in the rage of parties. Napoleon III. died at Chiselhurst on January 9, 1873. The supporters of his son raised their heads in Paris. The Opposition of the Right drove the President into the arms of the Left. The persecution of Ultramontanism in Germany tended to make it popular in France. Grévy, President of the Chamber, resigned post, and Buffet, a Monarchist and Clericalist, took place. The Radicals replied by carrying one of their

Fall of Thiers.

party as member for Paris. Thiers brought before the Chamber the foundations of a Constitution, but a vote of want of confidence caused him definitely to resign. Marshal MacMahon was elected President, and he named as Prime Minister the Duc de Broglie, who had taken the chief share in this political conspiracy.

CHAPTER IV.

MACMAHON.

THE Government of MacMahon rested on the support of the Bonapartist and Clerical parties. Public offices were filled with adherents of the fallen dynasty. France was traversed by religious pilgrimages. Broglie. An attempt was made to reorganise the Monarchical party by fusing together the elder and younger house of Bourbon. The Count of Chambord refused to accept the tri-coloured flag, and the negotiations came to an end. At the opening of the Chambers in November 1873, the Government of the President was assured for a *Septennat*, or period of seven years. The favour shown to the clergy in France, contrasted with their persecution in Germany, led to the rumours of a rupture between the two countries, which was happily averted. The Spring was spent in the preparation of various laws, one, among others, for the formation of a second Chamber, half nominated and half elected. These measures were prevented by the sudden fall of the Broglie ministry in May. It was effected by the Monarchists, who were irritated by the adhesion of the Duke to a permanent republic. M. de Cissey was made Prime Minister; M. Decazes kept his place.

Cissey-Decazes Ministry.

The rest of the year was mainly occupied with constitutional debates as to what kind of government should succeed the *Septennat*. The Bonapartists were in high hopes. In the early months of 1875 some final resolutions were arrived at. The legislative power was to be exercised by two Chambers: a Chamber of Deputies elected by universal suffrage, and a Senate of 300 members, elected partly by the National Assembly and partly by the country. Both Chambers together were to elect the President. He was appointed for a term of seven years, and was re-eligible. The Cissey ministry was dissolved, and was succeeded by M. Buffet as Prime Minister, with M. Dufaure and M. Léon Say as colleagues. The rest of the year was taken up with the discussions on the liberty of instruction, the design of which was to enable Catholic clergy to grant degrees and diplomas, and on the reform of the electoral laws. The elections which followed in the commencement of 1876 gave a victory to the Left. A large number of Republican deputies were returned. M. Buffet was everywhere defeated, even in his own department. On the meeting of the Chamber, he resigned his post to M. Dufaure.

Coup d'Etat.

When the new Chamber met it was found to contain 363 Republicans of all shades of opinion, 90 Bonapartists, and 80 Royalists. The addition of Waddington, Léon Say, and Ricard to the ministry gave it a decided liberal character. The Marshal could not shake off his clerical and monarchical fetters. An attempt made by Waddington as Minister of Instruction to place education, as far as possible, in the hands of laymen, roused the anger of the opposite party.

The whole of the year 1876 was spent on these party quarrels, and they were not appeased when, in December, the place of Dufaure was taken by Jules

Simon. At last, in May 1877, the President determined upon a bold stroke of authority; he wrote a letter to Jules Simon, in which he complained of the weakness of his attitude in the Chamber of Deputies. The minister and his colleagues immediately resigned, and a new ministry was formed under the presidency of Broglie. The Chamber voted, at the instance of Gambetta, that they could only have confidence in a Cabinet which was free in its action, and determined to govern by Republican principles. The Marshal replied by first proroguing the Chamber, and then dissolving it.

The whole of France was in agitation. The question was fairly posed between a Democratic Republic and a Clerical Monarchy. The Marshal and his officials strained every nerve in success of their party, the watchword of the Republicans was to return the 363 intact. The death and funeral of Thiers were the occasion of new demonstrations. The elections in October returned 320 Republicans. It was clear that the President must either submit or abdicate. He chose to submit, and nominated Dufaure as minister, with Waddington and Léon Say as colleagues. Fall of MacMahon.

The year 1878 passed in peace. The chief event was the holding of the Great Exhibition in Paris, in which the Republic successfully rivalled the glories of the Empire. By the end of the year the confidence of the country in the Republic and in Gambetta became more complete, and in the beginning of 1879 MacMahon was obliged to resign the presidency, and was succeeded by M. Grévy, a civilian of unimpeachable character and quiet habits.

CONCLUSION.

THE history of France for the last century is as instructive as any period in the history of the world. It exhibits a great nation, after establishing a republic on the ruins of a powerful monarchy, making effort after effort to give permanent security to the liberties acquired by revolution.

In 1814 the monarchy was restored. Scarcely shaken by the three months' interlude of Napoleon's return to power, it was preserved by the skill and management of Louis XVIII. to be lost by the imprudence and obstinacy of his brother Charles X.

A constitutional monarchy under a prince of the House of Orleans succeeded. It satisfied neither the reason nor the imagination of the French people. The ministers possessed knowledge without prudence, the King kindliness without dignity.

A second attempt to found a republic led to a re-establishment of the Napoleonic Empire. Napoleon III. gave to France the outward signs of glory and prosperity. The entire collapse of the nation in 1870 showed that the fountains of national energy had been allowed to dry up.

Since 1870 France has for a third time been governed by a republic. We find that since the Great Revolution her forms of government, when not ephemeral, have lasted from fifteen to eighteen years. Even according to the most unfavourable calculation which the past allows, the republic has still time enough before it to give the country peace, and to heal the wounds inflicted by the wastefulness of the Empire.

MAY 1880.

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